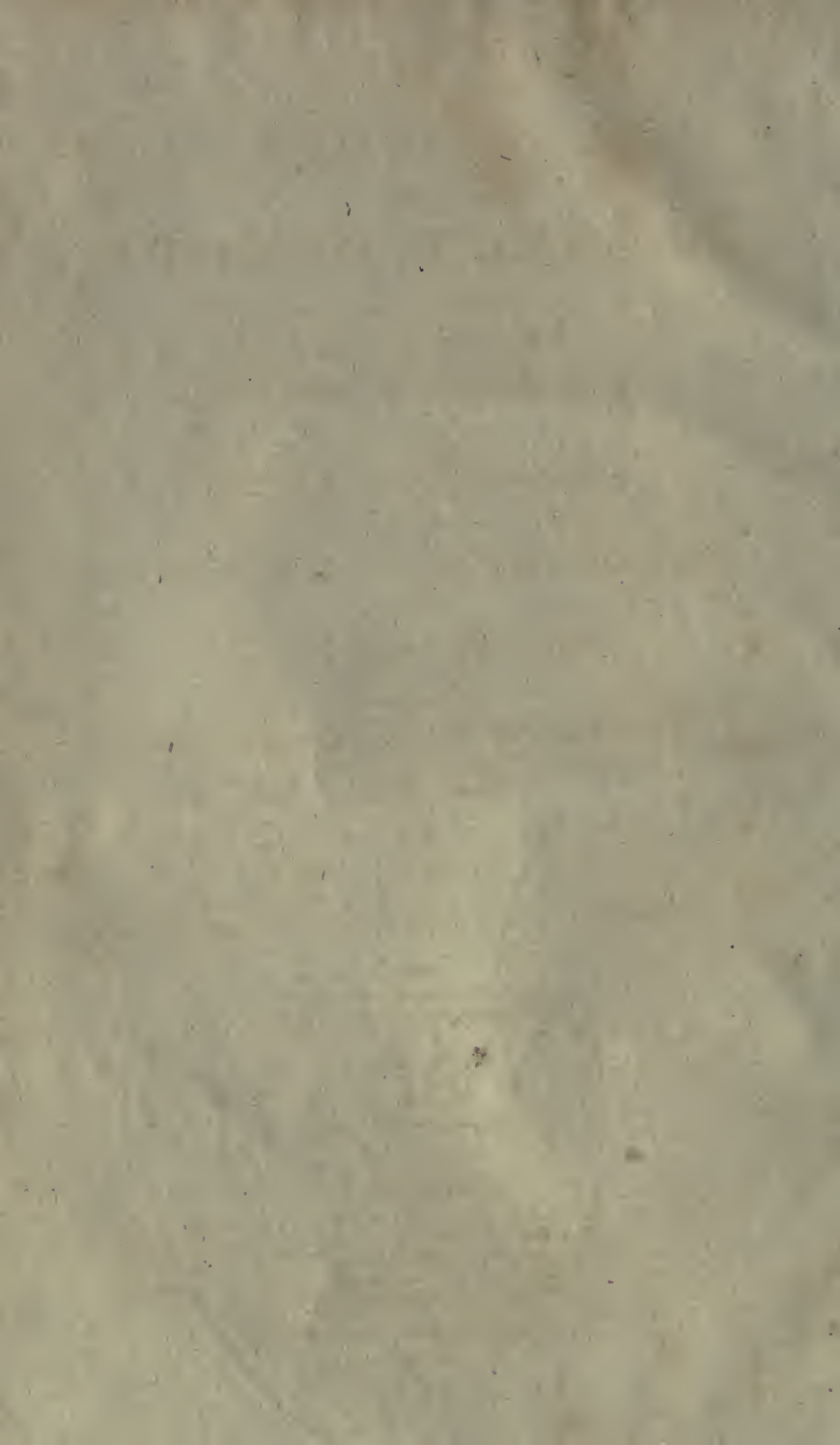




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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE:

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE;

AND A VIEW OF THE
PROGRESS OF SOCIETY,
FROM THE
RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS
TO THE
PEACE OF PARIS IN 1763;

IN A SERIES OF
LETTERS FROM A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH

A CONTINUATION,
TERMINATING AT THE PACIFICATION OF PARIS, IN 1815.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

[by William Russell]

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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

PART II.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648, TO THE PEACE
OF PARIS, IN 1763.

LETTER XII.

*A general View of the Affairs of Europe, with a particular
Account of those of England, from the Restoration of
Charles II., in 1660, to the Triple Alliance, in 1668.*

NO prince ever had it more in his power to render himself the favourite of his people, and his people great, flourishing, and happy, than Charles II. of England. They had generously restored him to the regal dignity, without imposing any new limitations on his prerogative: but their late violences, and the torrent of blood which had been shed, too strongly demonstrated their dread of popery, and their hatred of arbitrary sway, to permit a supposition that they would ever tamely suffer any gross infringement of their civil or religious liberties. Even if he had no sense of justice or of gratitude, the imprudences of his grandfather, the fatal catastrophe of his father, and eleven years of exclusion, exile, and adversity, were surely sufficient to have taught him moderation; while the affectionate expressions of loyalty and attach-

ment, which every where saluted his ears, demanded his most warm acknowledgements.

With loyalty, mirth and gaiety returned. That gloom which had so long overspread the island, gradually disappeared with those fanatical opinions that produced it. And if the king had made a proper use of his political situation, and of those natural and acquired talents which he so abundantly possessed, he might have held, with a high hand, the balance of Europe, and at the same time have restored the English nation (to use the memorable words of the earl of Clarendon) to its *primitive temper* and *integrity*; to "its old good manners, its old good humour, and its "old good nature." But an infatuated desire of governing without control, and an inattention to the public interest, accompanied with a wasteful prodigality, gradually deprived him of the affections of his subjects, as we shall have occasion to see, and, instead of the arbiter of Europe, rendered him a pensioner of France.

Charles was thirty years of age when he ascended the throne of his ancestors: and, if we consider his adverse fortune, and the opportunities he had enjoyed of mingling with the world, we might suppose that he had dismissed the levities of youth and the intemperance of appetite. But as he was endowed with a strong constitution and a great flow of spirits, with a manly figure and an engaging manner, animal love was still his predominant passion, and amusement his chief occupation. He was not, however, incapable of application to business, or unacquainted with affairs either foreign or domestic; but having been accustomed, during his exile, to live among his courtiers as a companion rather than a monarch, he loved to indulge, even after his restoration, in the pleasures of disengaged society as well as of unrestrained gallantry, and hated every thing that interfered with those favourite avocations. His example was contagious; a gross sensuality infected the court, and prodigality, debauchery, and irreligion,

became the characteristics of the younger and more fashionable part of the nation¹.

The king himself, who appears to have been little under the influence of either moral or religious principles, conscious of his own irregularities, could easily forgive the deviations of others, and admit an excuse for any system of opinions. Hence he gained the profligate by indulgence, at the same time that he chose to flatter, by attentions, the pride of religion and virtue. This accommodating character, which, through his whole reign, was his chief support, at first raised the highest idea of his judgement and impartiality. Without regard to former distinctions, he admitted into his council the most eminent men of all parties; the presbyterians equally with the royalists shared this trust. Nor was he less impartial in the distribution of honours. Not only was admiral Montague created earl of Sandwich, and Monk duke of Albemarle,—promotions that might have been expected;—but Annesley was created earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper, lord Ashley; and Denzil Holles, lord Holles.

Whatever might be the king's motive for such conduct, whether a desire of lasting popularity, or merely of serving a temporary purpose, it must be allowed to have been truly politic, as it contributed not only to banish the remembrance of past animosities, but to attach the leaders of the presbyterians; who, beside having a great share in the Restoration, were formidable by their numbers, as well as by their property, and determined enemies to the independents and other republican sectaries. But the choice which Charles made of his ministers and principal servants, more especially seemed to prognosticate happiness and tranquillity, and gave sincere pleasure to all the true friends of the constitution. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was declared chancellor of the realm. He had been bred to the law, possessed great talents, and was indefatigable in

¹ Burnet's *Hist. of his own Times*, vol. i. book ii.

business. The duke of Ormond, less remarkable for his talents than his courtly accomplishments, his honour, and his fidelity, was constituted steward of the household; the earl of Southampton, a man of abilities and integrity, was appointed high treasurer, and sir Edward Nicholas and sir William Morice became secretaries of state. The secretaries were both men of learning and virtue, but were little acquainted with foreign affairs².

These ministers entered into a free and open correspondence with the leading members of both houses; in consequence of which the *Convention* (as the assembly that accomplished the Restoration had been hitherto called, from its being summoned without the king's authority) received the name of a parliament. All judicial decrees, pronounced during the commonwealth or protectorship, were affirmed; and an act of indemnity was passed, conformable to the king's declaration from Breda. In that declaration Charles had wisely referred all exceptions to the parliament, which excluded such as had an immediate concern in the late king's death. Only six of the regicides, however, with four others, who had been abettors of their treason, were executed. The rest made their escape, were pardoned, or confined in different prisons. They all behaved with great firmness, and seemed to consider themselves as martyrs to their civil and religious principles³.

Major-general Lambert and sir Henry Vane were also attainted. Lambert was pardoned, in consequence of his submission; but Vane, on account of his presumptuous behaviour during his trial, was executed⁴. The king's lenity was extended to Scotland; where only the marquis of Argyle, one Guthry a seditious preacher, and an officer named Gouan, were put to death. Argyle's case was thought peculiarly hard; but, as Guthry had personally insulted the king, and pursued a conduct subversive of all

² Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

³ *State Trials*, vol. ii.

⁴ *Id. ibid.*

legal authority, his fate was lamented only by the wildest fanatics⁵.

Notwithstanding these expiatory sacrifices, the government of Charles was, for a time, remarkably mild and equitable. The first measure that excited any alarm was the act of uniformity.

If the convention, from a jealousy of royal power, had exacted any conditions from the king on his restoration, the establishment of the presbyterian discipline would certainly have been one of them, not only because it was more favourable to civil liberty than episcopacy, in the opinion of the people, but more conformable to the theological ideas of the majority of the members. No such stipulation, however, having been required, the church of England had reason to expect that the hierarchy would recover its ancient rights, and again appear with undiminished splendour, as well as the monarchy. Charles, to whom the business of religion was wholly left, though inclined to revive episcopacy, was at a loss how to proceed. The presbyterians, from their recent services, and the episcopal clergy from their loyalty and former sufferings in consequence of their attachment to the royal cause, had claims upon his gratitude. As he wished to gain all parties, by disobliging none, he conducted himself with great moderation. At the same time that he restored the ejected clergy, and ordered the liturgy to be received in the churches, he issued a declaration, importing that the bishops should all be regular and constant preachers; that they should not confer ordination, or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of presbyters, chosen by the diocese; that such alterations should be made in the liturgy as would render it unexceptionable; and that, in the mean time, the episcopal mode of worship should not be imposed on those who were unwilling to receive it⁶.

Such was the state of the church at the dissolution of the

5 Burnet, ubi sup.

6 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxiii.

Dec. 29. convention-parliament; which, while it guarded the legal rights of the crown, did not lose sight of the liberty of the subject, but maintained a happy medium between high prerogative and licentious freedom.

May 8, 1661. The new parliament was of a very different complexion. The royalists, seconded by the influence of the crown, had prevailed in most elections. Not above seventy members of the presbyterian party obtained seats in the house of commons; and these not being able to counteract with efficacy the measures of the court, monarchy and episcopacy were now as much exalted as they had lately been insulted and depressed.

An act was quickly framed for the security of the king's person and government, containing many severe clauses; and as the bishops, though restored to their spiritual authority, were still excluded from parliament, in consequence of a law extorted from Charles I., that act was now repealed. But the measures which most remarkably manifested the zeal of the parliament for the church and monarchy were the act of uniformity, and the bill for abrogating the triennial act. Instead of the exact stipulations of the latter, a general clause provided, that parliaments should not be interrupted above three years at most. By the act of uniformity it was required, that every clergyman, capable of holding a benefice, should possess episcopal ordination, declare his assent to every thing contained in the book of common-prayer, take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the solemn league and covenant, and renounce the principle of taking arms against the king on any pretence whatever⁷.

Thus was the church reinstated in power and splendour; and as the old persecuting laws subsisted in A. D. 1662. their full rigour, and even new clauses of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promises of toleration and indulgence to tender consciences, in his declaration from Breda, were eluded and broken. The more

⁷ *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxiii,

zealous of the presbyterian clergymen resolved to refuse the subscription; encouraged by the hope, that the bishops would not dare to expel so great a number of the most popular preachers in the kingdom. But in this expectation they were deceived. The church, anticipating the pleasure of retaliation, had made the terms of subscription rigid, on purpose to disgust all the scrupulous presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings⁸; and the court beheld, with equal satisfaction and astonishment, two thousand of the clergy, in one day, relinquishing their benefices, and sacrificing their interest to their religious opinions.

This measure, which united the various sects of Protestant dissenters in a common hatred of the church, and roused in the church a spirit of intolerance and persecution, was peculiarly impolitic and imprudent, as well as violent and unjust; more especially as the opportunity seemed fair for taking advantage of the resentment of the presbyterians against the republican sectaries, and drawing them, without persecuting the others, by the cords of love into the pale of the church, instead of driving them back by severe usage into their ancient confederacies. A small relaxation in the terms of communion would certainly have been sufficient for that purpose. But the royal family, and the Catholics, whose influence was great at court, had other views, which you may now expect me to unfold.

Charles, during his exile, had not only imbibed strong prejudices in favour of the Catholic religion, but had even been secretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome⁹. His brother, the duke of York, however, was a more sincere convert. James had zealously adopted all the absurd and pernicious principles of popery; and as he had acquired a great influence over the king, by his talent for business, the severities in the act of uniformity had been chiefly suggested by him and the earl of Bristol¹⁰, also a zealous Catholic and a favourite at court. Sensible that undis-

⁸ Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

⁹ Burnet, book i.

¹⁰ Not the negotiator of the Spanish match, but his unsteady and unprincipled son.

guised popery could claim no legal indulgence, they inflamed the church-party against the presbyterians: they encouraged the latter to stand out; and when, in consequence of these artifices, they saw so numerous and popular a body of the clergy ejected, they formed the plan of a general toleration, in hopes that the hated sect of the Catholics might pass unobserved in the crowd, and enjoy the same liberty with the rest.

The king, who had this measure more at heart than could have been expected from his seeming indifference to all religions, accordingly issued a declaration, under pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the act of uniformity. After mentioning the promise of liberty of conscience included in his declaration from Breda, he added, that although, in the first place, he had been zealous to settle the uniformity of the church of England, which he should ever maintain, yet in regard to the penalties upon those who were not inclined to conform to it, but modestly and without scandal performed their devotions in their own way, he should make it his particular care to persuade his parliamentary subjects to concur with him in framing such an act as might enable him to exercise with more general satisfaction that dispensing power, which he conceived to be a part of his prerogative¹¹. The parliament, however, alarmed at the idea of a *dispensing power* in the crown, and having a glimpse of the object for which it was to be exercised, declared that the proposed indulgence would prove most pernicious both to church and state; would open a door to schism, encourage faction, disturb the public peace, and discredit the wisdom of the legislature¹². And the court, having already gained so many points, judged it necessary to lay aside for a time the project of toleration. In the mean time the ejected clergymen were prosecuted with unrelenting rigour; severe laws being enacted, not only

11 Kennet's *Register*, p. 850.

12 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxiii.

against conventicles, but against any non-conforming teacher coming within five miles of a corporation.

The presbyterians of Scotland did not experience greater lenity than those of England. As Charles had made them no promises before his restoration, he resolved to pursue the absurd policy of his father and grandfather, of establishing episcopacy in that kingdom. In this resolution he was confirmed by his antipathy to the Scottish ecclesiastics, on account of the insults which he had received while he resided among them. He therefore replied to the earl of Lauderdale, with more pertness than judgement, when pressed to establish presbytery, that "it was not a religion for a gentleman!" and he could not agree to its farther continuance in Scotland¹³. Such a reason might have suited a fop in his dressing-room, or a jolly companion over his bottle, but was very unworthy of the head of a great monarchy. The consequences were such as might have been foreseen. A vast majority of the Scottish nation viewed the king and his ministers with horror, and resolved to undergo all the rigours of persecution rather than relinquish their form of worship.

Certain political measures conspired with those of religion to diminish that popularity which the king had enjoyed at his restoration. His marriage with Catharine of Portugal, to which he was chiefly prompted by the largeness of her portion¹⁴, was by no means agreeable to his subjects, who were particularly desirous of his marrying a Protestant princess. The sale of Dunkirk to France, for his private profit, occasioned universal disgust¹⁵; and the Dutch war, in which he is said to have engaged with a

¹³ Burnet, book ii.

¹⁴ He received with her about three hundred thousand pounds sterling, the settlement of Bombay in the East Indies, and the fortress of Tangier on the coast of Africa.

¹⁵ The sale of Dunkirk, though stigmatised as one of the worst measures of Charles's reign, was more blameable as a mark of meanness in the king than on account of its detriment to the nation. The charge of maintaining that fortress was

view of diverting part of the parliamentary aids to the supply of his own profusions, contributed still farther to increase the public dissatisfaction. The particulars of that war it must now be our business to relate.

The reasons assigned for commencing hostilities against the United Provinces were, the depredations committed by the subjects of that republic upon the English traders in different parts of the world. But unfortunately for Charles, these depredations, though sufficient to call up the keenest resentment, had all preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of alliance had been renewed between England and the states. This circumstance, however, was overlooked in the general jealousy conceived of the Hollanders, who, by their persevering industry, and by other means, had greatly diminished the foreign trade of the English merchants. The king was resolved on a war, from which, in consequence of his superior naval force, he hoped to derive vast advantages: and, as he was warmly seconded in his views by the city and parliament, sir Robert Holmes was secretly dispatched with a squadron to the coast of Africa; where he not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse, to which the English had some pretensions, but seised their settlements of Cape Verd, and the isle of Goree. Another squadron sailed soon after to North America, under the conduct of sir Richard Nicholas, who took possession of the Dutch settlement of Nova Belgia, afterward called New York, in honour of the duke, who had obtained a grant of it from his brother¹⁶.

Since the death of William II. prince of Orange, who attempted, as we have already seen, to encroach on the

very great, and the benefit arising from it small. It had then no harbour to receive vessels of burthen; and Louis XIV., who was a judge of such acquisitions, and who first made it a good sea-port, thought he had made a hard bargain, when he even paid less than three hundred thousand pounds for it. *D'Estrades' Letters.*

16 *King James the Second's Memoirs.* This territory, being situated within the line of the English discoveries, had been granted by James I. to the earl of Stirling; but it had never been colonised, except by the Dutch.

liberties of the republic of Holland, the Dutch, conformably to their perpetual edict, had elected no stadtholder. The government had continued wholly in the hands of the Louvestein, or violent republican party, who were declared enemies to the house of Orange. This state of the affairs of the United Provinces could not be very agreeable to the king of England, who wished to see his nephew, William III., reinstated in the authority possessed by his ancestors. It is supposed that he had formed a design, in concert with his brother, of rendering the young prince absolute, and bringing the states to a dependence on England. It is at least certain, that the famous John de Wit, pensionary of Holland, who was the soul of the republican party, and invested with almost dictatorial powers, apprehensive of some scheme of that kind, had, soon after the Restoration, entered into a close alliance with France¹⁷. This has since been thought bad policy; and it must be owned, that de Wit's antipathy to the family of Orange led him into measures not always advantageous to his country; but it ought at the same time to be remembered, that neither the genius of Louis XIV., nor the resources of the French monarchy, were then known.

De Wit, equally distinguished by his magnanimity, ability, and integrity—who knew how to blend the moderate deportment of the private citizen with the dignity of the minister of state—and who had laid it down as a maxim, that no independent state ought ever tamely to suffer any breach of equity from another, whatever might be the disparity of force—when informed of the hostilities of England, did not hesitate a moment how to act. He immediately sent orders to de Ruyter (who was cruising with a fleet in the Mediterranean, for the purpose of chastising the piratical states of Barbary) to sail toward the coast of Guinea, and put the Hollanders again in possession of

¹⁷ Basnage.—Temple.—Burnet.

those settlements from which they had been violently expelled. The Dutch admiral, who had a considerable body of land forces on board, recovered some of the African settlements lately reduced by the English, and even deprived them of several of their old possessions; and sailing to America, he insulted Barbadoes, committed hostilities on Long Island, and took a considerable number of ships¹⁸.

A declaration of war was the consequence of these mutual hostilities, and both sides prepared for the
 A. D. 1665. most vigorous exertions of their naval strength. By the prudent management of de Wit, a spirit of union was preserved among the states; great sums were levied; and a navy composed of larger ships than the Dutch had ever before sent to sea, was speedily equipped. Charles, who was well acquainted with naval architecture, went from port to port, inspecting the dock-yards, and hastening the preparations. Sailors flocked from all quarters; and the duke of York, who had been originally designed for the head of the navy, and was now high-admiral of England, put to sea with a fleet of a hundred sail, and stood for the coast of Holland. Prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich commanded under him. The Dutch fleet, of at least equal force, was commanded by admiral Opdam, in conjunction with Evertsen and young Tromp, son to the famous admiral of that name, killed in the former war. They declined not the combat. The sea was smooth, and not a cloud to be seen in the sky. The duke in the Royal Charles, bore down upon Opdam, and a furious battle began. The contest was continued for four
 June 3. hours with great spirit: at length Opdam's ship blew up; and the Dutch, discouraged by the awful fate of their admiral and his gallant crew, fled toward the Texel¹⁹. They lost near thirty ships, and their whole fleet might,

perhaps, have been taken or destroyed, had the English made a proper use of their victory. But unfortunately, about midnight, orders were given to shorten sail²⁰; so that in the morning, no hopes of overtaking the enemy remained. And thus was neglected an opportunity of ruining the naval force of the Dutch, which never returned in that age, or in the greater part of the following century. The English lost only one ship.

The joy arising from the duke's naval victory, so highly extolled by the adherents of the court, was much diminished by the ravages of the plague, which carried off near seventy thousand persons in London in one year. The melancholy apprehensions occasioned by this calamity, added to the horrors of war, were increased by the prospect of new enemies. Louis XIV. was obliged to assist the Dutch, in consequence of the treaty of alliance; and the king of Denmark, jealous of the naval power of England, engaged to furnish thirty ships in support of the same cause, for an annual subsidy of fifteen hundred thousand crowns²¹. De Wit, however, who was now blamed as the author of the war, did not trust to these alliances. He not only forwarded the naval preparations, but went on board of the fleet himself; and so extensive was his genius, that he soon became as much master of sea affairs, as if he had been bred to them from his infancy. By his courage

²⁰ These orders were given by one Brouncker, a gentleman of the duke's bed-chamber, while his master was asleep, and without his authority, if we may believe the royal memorialist;—and, from his behaviour during the action, we can hardly suppose that he was afraid of a beaten and flying enemy. But it is well known, that the same man may be a hero at noon, and a coward at midnight. In a word, it is highly improbable that Brouncker should dare to give such orders of himself; and although we know nothing positively to the contrary, we are informed by Burnet, that the duke seemed very much struck when, understanding that he was likely to come up with the enemy, he was told by Penn, his captain, that he must “prepare for better work in the next engagement,” as the Dutch always gather courage from despair. (*Hist. of his own Times*, vol. i. book ii.) This information Burnet had from the earl of Montague, who was then a volunteer in the duke's ship.

²¹ *Let. d' Estrades*.

and capacity he quickly remedied all the disorders occasioned by the late misfortune, infused new confidence into his party, and revived the declining valour of his countrymen²².

In order to balance so formidable a combination, Charles attempted, but without success, to negotiate an alliance with Spain. Concluding, however, that Louis could have no serious purpose of exalting the power of Holland, and elate with recent success, he was not alarmed at the number of his enemies; though every shore was hostile to the English seamen, from the extremity of Norway to the port of Bayonne. A formidable fleet of seventy-eight sail of the line, commanded by the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert, seemed to justify the confidence of the king. But unfortunately this force was divided in the moment of danger. It having been reported, that A. D. 1666. the duke of Beaufort had entered the Channel, with a French fleet of forty sail, prince Rupert was detached with twenty ships to oppose him. Meanwhile the Dutch fleet, to the number of ninety sail, commanded by de Ruyter and Tromp, had put to sea; and Albemarle, notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, rashly sought an engagement²³. But his valour atoned for his temerity. The battle that ensued was one of the most memorable in the annals of mankind, whether we consider its duration, or the desperate courage with which it was fought.

The Dutch had the advantage in the first part of the conflict; yet Albemarle, in engaging de Ruyter, June 1. had shown himself worthy of his former renown. Two Dutch admirals were slain, and three English ships taken. One Dutch ship was burned. Darkness parted the combatants. The next morning, the battle was renewed with redoubled fierceness; and the Dutch were ready to give way, when they were reinforced with sixteen

²² Basnage.

²³ Clarendon's Life.—Contin. of Baker.

capital ships. The English now found that the most heroic valour could not counterbalance the superiority of numbers, against an enemy not defective either in courage or conduct. Albemarle, however, would yield to nothing but the interposition of night; and although he had lost no ships in this second action, he found his force so much weakened, that he resolved to take advantage of the darkness and retire. But the vigilance of the enemy, and the shattered condition of his fleet, prevented him from fully executing his intention. Before morning, however, he was able to make some way; and it was four in the afternoon before de Ruyter could come up with him. His disabled ships were ordered to make all the sail possible, and keep a-head, while he himself closed the rear with sixteen of the most entire, and presented an undaunted countenance to the Hollanders. Determined to perish sooner than to strike, he prepared to renew the action. But as he was sensible that the probability of success was against him, he declared to the earl of Ossory (son of the duke of Ormond) his intention to blow up his ship rather than fall into the hands of the enemy: and that gallant youth applauded the desperate resolution. But fortune rescued both from such a violent death, at the same time that it saved the English navy. A fleet being descried before the action was renewed, suspense for a time restrained the rage of the combatants. One party concluded it to be the duke of Beaufort, the other prince Rupert, and both rent the sky with their shouts. At length, to the unspeakable joy of the English, it was discovered to be the prince. Night prevented an immediate renewal of the action; but, in the morning, the battle raged more fiercely than ever. Through the whole fourth day the contest remained doubtful; and toward the evening both fleets, as if weary of carnage, retired under a thick fog to their respective harbours²⁴.

But the English admirals were men of too high valour to

be satisfied with less than victory. While they sent the disabled ships to different docks to be refitted, they remained on board of their own. The whole fleet was soon ready to put to sea, and a new engagement was eagerly sought. Nor was it long denied them. Ruyter and Tromp, with the Dutch fleet, consisting of about eighty sail, had posted themselves at the mouth of the Thames, in hopes of being joined by a French squadron, and of riding triumphant in the Channel. There they were descried by the English fleet under Prince Rupert and Albemarle. The force, on both sides, was nearly equal. The Dutch bore toward the coast of Holland, but were closely pursued. At length they formed themselves in order of battle, July 25. and a terrible conflict ensued. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the English white squadron, attacked the Dutch van with irresistible fury, and killed the three admirals who commanded it. Tromp engaged and defeated sir Jeremy Smith, admiral of the blue; but unfortunately for his countrymen, by pursuing too eagerly, he was totally separated from the Dutch centre, where his assistance was much wanted. Meanwhile de Ruyter, who occupied that dangerous station, maintained with equal conduct and courage the combat against the centre of the English fleet, commanded by Rupert and Albemarle. Overpowered by numbers, his high spirit was at last obliged to submit to a retreat, which he conducted with the greatest ability; yet he could not help exclaiming, in the agony of his heart, "My God! what a wretch am I, "to be compelled to submit to this disgrace!—Among so "many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to "my miserable life?" Tromp too, after all his success, was obliged to yield to the combined efforts of the English red and blue squadrons²⁵.

Though the loss sustained by the Dutch in this engagement was not very considerable, it occasioned great consternation among the provinces. The defeat of their fleet filled

them with the most melancholy apprehensions. Some of these were soon realised. The English, now absolute masters of the sea, rode in triumph along the coast, and insulted the Hollanders in their harbours. A squadron, under sir Robert Holmes, entered the road of Vlie, and burned two men of war and a hundred and forty rich merchantmen, as well as the large village of Brandaris; the whole damage being computed at several millions sterling²⁶.

The situation of de Wit was now truly critical. The Dutch merchants, uniting themselves with the Orange faction, violently exclaimed against an administration, which, as they pretended, had brought disgrace and ruin on their country. But the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit supported him under all his difficulties and distresses. Having quieted the provinces of Holland and Zealand, he gave himself little trouble about the murmurs of the rest, as they did not contribute much toward the public expense. The fleet of the republic was very quickly refitted, and again sent to sea under de Ruyter; and the king of France, though pleased to see England and Holland weakening each other's naval force, hastened the sailing of his fleet, lest a second defeat should oblige his friend de Wit to abandon his dangerous station²⁷. Such a defeat would certainly have happened to one, if not to both fleets, had not a violent storm obliged prince Rupert to retire into St. Helen's. While he remained there, de Ruyter, who had taken shelter in the road of Boulogne, returned home with his fleet in a sickly condition. The duke of Beaufort, who came too late to form a junction with the Dutch admiral, passed both up and down the Channel without being observed by the English fleet; and Louis, anxious for the safety of his infant navy, which he had reared with much care and industry, dispatched orders to the duke to retire to Brest²⁸.

²⁶ Heath.—Kennet.

²⁷ Basnage.—Le Clerc.

²⁸ Clarendon's *Life*.—*Contin. of Baker*.

The same storm which, by sea, prevented prince Rupert from annoying the French and Dutch fleets, promoted a dreadful calamity on land. A fire broke out, at one in the morning, in a baker's shop near London-
 Sept. 2. bridge, and had acquired great force before it was observed. The neighbouring houses were chiefly composed of wood; the weather had long been remarkably dry; the streets were narrow, and the wind blew violently from the east; so that the flames spread with extraordinary rapidity. Terror and consternation seised the distracted inhabitants, who considered the conflagration, occurring so soon after the plague, as another visitation from Heaven on account of the crimes of the court; or as a conspiracy of the papists, in conjunction with France, for the extirpation of all true religion. Suspicions even extended to the royal family²⁹. Three nights and three days did the flames rage with increasing fury: on the fourth day, the wind falling, the fire ceased in a manner as wonderful as its progress. Of twenty-six wards, into which the city was divided, fifteen were reduced to a mere heap of ruins: four hundred streets and lanes, comprehending thirteen thousand houses, were destroyed³⁰. But this calamity, though severely felt at the time, eventually contributed to the health, safety, and convenience of the inhabitants of London, by the judicious method observed in constructing the new buildings³¹; and, what is truly remarkable, it does not appear that, during the whole conflagration, one life was lost either by fire or otherwise.

Though we have no reason to suppose that either the Catholics or the court had any concern in the fire of London, the very suspicion of such a conspiracy is a proof of the jealousy entertained of the measures of government. This jealousy was chiefly occasioned by the severities

²⁹ Burnet, book ii.

³⁰ *King James's Mem.—Clarendon's Life.*—Burnet, ubi sup.

³¹ The streets were not only made wider and more regular than formerly, but the new houses were formed of less combustible materials.

exercised against the presbyterians and other non-conformists, who were still very numerous; and by the secret favour shown to the Catholics, who, though proscribed by many laws, seldom felt the rigour of any.

The non-conformists in Scotland were still more harshly treated. In consequence of the introduction of episcopacy, a mode of worship extremely obnoxious to the great body of the Scottish nation, three hundred and fifty parish-churches had been at once declared vacant. New ministers were sought all over the kingdom, and the churches filled with men of the most abandoned characters. Few candidates were so ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who were extremely devoted to their former teachers (men remarkable for the austerity of their manners and their fervour in preaching), could not conceal their indignation against these intruders, whose debaucheries filled them with horror. They followed the ejected clergymen to the woods and mountains, where multitudes assembled to listen to their pious discourses; and while this pleasure was allowed them, they discovered no symptoms of sedition. But when the Scottish parliament, which was wholly under the influence of the court, framed a rigorous law against conventicles, the people took the alarm; and the cruelties and oppressions, exercised in enforcing this law, at last roused them to rebellion³².

The inhabitants of the western counties, where religious zeal has always been more ardent than in any other part of Scotland, rose in arms, to the number of two thousand, and renewed the covenant. They did not, however, commit any kind of violence; and they published a manifesto, in which they professed their loyalty and submission to the king, and only desired the re-establishment of presbytery and their former ministers. As most of the gentlemen of their party in the west had been confined on suspicion of an insurrection, they marched toward Edinburgh, in hopes

³² Burnet, book ii.

of being joined by some men of rank; but finding themselves deceived, many dispersed, and the rest were marching back to their own districts, when they were attacked

by the king's forces, and routed at Pentland hills.
Nov. 28.

A considerable number of prisoners were taken, and treated with great severity: ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh, and thirty-five before their own doors, in different parts of the country³³.

All these men might have saved their lives, if they would either have renounced the covenant or discovered any of their associates; but, though mostly persons of mean condition, they adhered inviolably to their faith and friendship. Maccail, one of their teachers, supposed to have been deep in the secrets of his party, was put to the torture, in order to extort a confession,—but without effect. He bore his sufferings with great constancy; and, expiring under them, seemed to depart in a transport of joy. “Farewell, sun, moon, and stars,” said he;—“farewell, kindred and friends; farewell, weak and frail body; farewell, world and time! welcome, eternity; welcome, angels and saints; welcome, Saviour of the world; and welcome, God the judge of all³⁴!” These words he uttered with a voice and manner that made a great impression upon all who heard him, and contributed not a little to inflame the zeal of his partisans. Conventicles continued to be attended in defiance of all the rigours of government, though these were extended to a degree of severity that was disgraceful to humanity.

The state of Ireland was no less deplorable than that of Scotland; but the miseries of the Irish proceeded from other causes. These it must now be our business to trace.

Cromwell, having expelled the native Irish from their three principal provinces, Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, had confined them to Connaught and the county of Clare. And although the majority of these were Catholics, many

³³ Burnet, book ii.

³⁴ Id. *ibid*.

of them were altogether innocent of the massacre which had drawn so much odium on their countrymen of that religion. Several Protestants too, and the duke of Ormond among the rest, who had uniformly opposed the Irish rebellion, were also attainted, because they had afterward embraced the king's cause against the parliament. To these sufferers, some relief seemed due after the Restoration: but the difficulty was, how to find the means of redressing such great and extensive grievances.

The most valuable lands in Ireland had been already measured out and divided, either among the adventurers who had lent money to the parliament for the suppression of the popish conspiracy, or among the soldiers who had accomplished that business. These men could not be dispossessed; because they were the most powerful, and only armed part, of the inhabitants of Ireland; because it was necessary to favour them, in order to support the Protestant and English interest in that kingdom; and because they had generally, with seeming zeal and alacrity, concurred in the king's restoration. Charles, therefore, issued a proclamation, in which he promised to maintain their settlement: and he at the same time engaged to yield redress to the innocent sufferers³⁵.

There was a considerable quantity of land still undivided in Ireland; and from this and other funds, it was thought possible for the king to fulfil his engagements, without disturbing the present landholders. A court of claims was accordingly erected, consisting of English commissioners, who had no connexion with any of the parties into which Ireland was divided; and the duke of Ormond, being supposed to be the only person whose prudence and justice could compose such jarring interests, was re-appointed lord-lieutenant. The number of presented claims diffused general anxiety and alarm; but, after a temporary ferment, all parties seemed willing to abate a part of their

35 Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, vol. ii.—Hume, vol. vii.

pretensions, in order to obtain stability. Ormond interposed his authority for that purpose. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquish a fourth of their possessions: all those who had been attainted on account of their adherence to the king were restored, as well as some of the innocent Catholics³⁶.

In consequence of this settlement, Ireland began to acquire some degree of composure; when it was disturbed by an impolitic act, passed by the English parliament, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England. Ormond remonstrated strongly against that law. He said, that the trade then carried on between England and Ireland was extremely to the advantage of the former kingdom, which received only provisions, or rude materials, in return for every species of manufacture; that if the cattle of Ireland were prohibited, the inhabitants of that island had no other commodity with which they could pay England for their importations, and must therefore have recourse to other nations for a supply; and the industrious part of the inhabitants of England, if deprived of Irish provisions, which made living cheap, would be obliged to augment the price of labour, and thereby render their manufactures too dear to be exported with advantage to foreign markets³⁷.

The king was so convinced of the force of these arguments, that he used all his interest to oppose the bill, and declared that he could not give his assent to it with a safe
 Jan. 18, conscience. But the commons were obstinate,
 1667. and Charles was in want of a supply: he was therefore impelled, by his fears of a refusal, to pass it into a law³⁸. The event, however, justified the reasoning of Ormond. This severe law brought great distress upon Ireland for a time; but it proved in the sequel beneficial to that kingdom, and hurtful to England, by obliging the Irish to

36 Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, vol. ii.—Hume, vol. vii.

37 Carte, *ubi sup.*

38 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxiii.

apply with more industry to manufactures, and to cultivate a commercial correspondence with France.

These grievances and discontents in each of the three kingdoms, and the imperfect success of a war from which the greatest advantages were expected, induced the king to turn his thoughts towards peace. The Dutch, whose trade had greatly suffered, were no less disposed to such a measure; and, after some ineffectual conferences in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, it was agreed that the negotiation should be transferred to Breda. The English ambassadors, lord Holles and Henry Coventry, desired that a suspension of hostilities should immediately take place; but this proposal was rejected through the influence of de Wit. That able and active minister, perfectly acquainted with the characters of the contending princes, and with the situation of affairs in Europe, had discovered an opportunity of striking a blow, which might at once restore to the Dutch the honour lost during the war, and severely revenge those injuries which he ascribed to the wanton ambition and injustice of the English monarch³⁹.

The expense of the naval armaments of England had been so great, that Charles had not hitherto been able to apply to his own use any of the money granted him by parliament. He therefore resolved to save, as far as possible, the last supply of one million eight hundred thousand pounds, for the payment of his debts. This sum, which was thought by his wisest ministers too small to enable him to carry on the war with vigour, afforded to the profuse and needy monarch a pretence for laying up his largest ships. Nor did that measure appear highly reprehensible, as the immediate prospect of peace seemed sufficient to free the king from all apprehensions of danger from his enemies. But de Wit, who was informed of this

supine security, protracted the negotiations at Breda, and hastened the naval preparations of Holland. A fleet, under de Ruyter, stationed itself at the mouth of the Thames; while a squadron commanded by Van Ghent, assisted by
 June 10. an east wind and a spring tide, after reducing

Sheerness, broke a chain which had been drawn across the Medway, destroyed three ships appointed to guard it, sailed up that river, and burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James⁴⁰.

The destruction of the ships at Chatham threw the city of London into the utmost consternation. It was apprehended that the Dutch, sailing up the Thames, would carry their hostilities even as far as London-bridge. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, five at Blackwall; batteries were raised in many places; and the militia were called out. These precautions, and the difficult navigation of the Thames, induced de Ruyter to steer his course to the westward. He made a fruitless attempt upon Portsmouth, and also on Plymouth; he returned to the mouth of the Thames, where he was not more successful; but, for several weeks, he rode triumphant in the Channel⁴¹.

The alarm thus excited, however, was soon dispelled by the signing of the treaty at Breda. In order to
 June 29. facilitate that measure, so necessary in his present distressed situation, Charles had instructed his ambassadors to recede from some demands which had hitherto obstructed the negotiation. No mention was now made of the restitution of the island of Poleron in the East Indies, which had been formerly insisted on; nor was any satisfaction required for those depredations which had been assigned as the cause of the war. England, however, retained possession of New-York; while the English set-

⁴⁰ *Clarendon's Life*.—*King James's Mem.*—Captain Douglas, commander of the Royal Oak, perished in the flames, though he had an opportunity of escaping. "Never was it known," said he, "that a Douglas quitted his post without orders!" Temple, vol. ii.

⁴¹ *Id. ibid.*

tlement of Surinam, which had been reduced by the Dutch, was ceded to the republic⁴².

But this pacification, though it removed the apprehensions of danger, by no means quieted the discontents of the people. All men of spirit were filled with indignation at the improvidence of government, and at the rapacity, meanness, and prodigality of the king, who, in order to procure money for his pleasures, had left his kingdom exposed to insult and disgrace. In a word, the shameful conclusion of the Dutch war dispelled that delirium of joy which had been occasioned by the Restoration; and the people, as if awaking from a dream, wondered how they had been pleased.

Charles, who, amidst all his dissipations, possessed and even employed a considerable share of political sagacity, as well as address, resolved to attempt the recovery of his popularity by sacrificing his minister to the national resentment. The plan in part succeeded, as it seemed to indicate a change of measures, while it presented a grateful offering to an offended community.

Though the earl of Clarendon had for some time lost the confidence of his sovereign, by the austerity of his manners and the severity of his remonstrances, he was still considered by the people as the head of the cabinet, and regarded as the author of every imprudent or obnoxious measure since the Restoration. The king's marriage, in which he had merely acquiesced; the sale of Dunkirk, to which he had only given his assent, as one of the council; the Dutch war, which he had opposed; and all the persecuting laws against the various sectaries, were by the public ascribed to him. The Catholics knew him to be the declared enemy of their principles, both civil and religious; and he was exposed, on different grounds, to the hatred of every party in the nation. This general odium afforded the king a pretence for depriving him of the seals,

⁴² *Clarendon's Life*.

and dismissing him from his councils; and the parliament, adopting the ungenerous hints of Charles, first impeached and then banished the earl⁴³. Conscious of his own innocence, and unwilling to disturb the tranquillity of the state, the chancellor made no defence, but quietly submitted to his sentence. And this cruel treatment of so good a minister, by a kind of tacit combination of prince and people, is a striking example of the ingratitude of the one, and of the ignorance and injustice of the other; for, if Clarendon was not a great, he was at least an upright and even an able statesman. He was, to use the words of his friend Southampton, “a true Protestant, and an honest “Englishman;” equally attentive to the just prerogatives of the crown, and to the constitutional liberties of the subject, of whatever errors he might be guilty either in foreign or domestic politics.

The king's next measure, namely, the triple alliance, was not less popular, and was much more deserving of praise. But, before I speak of that alliance, we must take a view of the state of France and Spain.

Louis XIV., the powerful sovereign of the former realm, possessed every quality that could flatter the pride or conciliate the affections of a vain-glorious people. The manly beauty of his person, in which he surpassed all his courtiers, was embellished with a noble air; the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politeness; and if he was not the greatest king, he was at least, to use the words of lord Bolingbroke, “the best actor of “majesty that ever filled a throne⁴⁴.” Addicted to pleasure, but decent even in his sensualities, he set an example of elegant gallantry to his subjects; while he flattered their vanity, and gratified their passion for show, by the magnificence of his palaces and the splendour of his public entertainments. Though illiterate himself, he was a

43 *King James's Memoirs.—Clarendon's Life.*

44 *Letters on the Study and Use of History.*

munificent patron of learning and the polite arts ; and men of genius, not only in his own kingdom, but in other parts of Europe, experienced the fostering influence of his liberality.

Dazzled by the shining qualities of their young monarch, and proud to participate in his glory, the French submitted without murmuring to the most violent stretches of arbitrary power. This submissive loyalty, combined with the ambition of the prince, the industry and ingenuity of the people, and internal tranquillity, made France, which had long been distracted by domestic factions, and overshadowed by the grandeur of the Spanish monarchy, now appear truly formidable to the neighbouring states. Colbert, an able and active minister, had put the finances into excellent order ; enormous sums were raised for the public service ; a navy was created, and a great standing army supported, without being felt by that populous and extensive kingdom.

Conscious of his power and resources, Louis had early given symptoms of that haughty spirit, that restless ambition, and insatiable thirst of glory, which so long disturbed the peace of Europe. A quarrel for precedency having happened in London between the French and Spanish ambassadors, he threatened to commence hostilities, unless the superiority of his crown should be acknowledged ; and was not satisfied till the court of Madrid sent a solemn embassy to Paris, promising acquiescence. His treatment of the pope was still more arrogant. Crequi, the French ambassador at Rome, having met with an affront from the guards of Alexander VII., that pontiff was obliged to punish the offenders, to send his nephew into France to ask pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itself, as a monument of his own humiliation. England also experienced the lofty spirit of Louis. He refused to pay the honours of the flag ; and prepared with such vigour for resistance, that the too easy Charles judged it prudent to desist from his pretensions. “ The

“king of England,” said he to his ambassador d’Estrades, “may know the amount of my force, but he knows not the elevation of my mind. Every thing appears to me contemptible in comparison of glory⁴⁵.”

These were strong indications of the character of the French despot; but the first measure that gave general alarm was the invasion of the Spanish Netherlands.

Though Louis, by the treaty of the Pyrenees, had solemnly renounced all title to the succession of any part of the Spanish dominions, which might occur in consequence of his marriage with the infanta Maria Theresa, he had still kept in view, as a favourite object, the eventual succession to the whole of that monarchy; and on the death of Philip IV. (in 1665) he retracted his renunciation, alleging that natural rights, depending on consanguinity, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a son named Charles, a sickly infant, whose death was daily expected; but as the queen of France was the offspring of a prior marriage, she laid claim to a considerable province of the Spanish monarchy, to the exclusion even of her brother. This claim was founded on a custom in some parts of Brabant, where a female of the first marriage was preferred to a male of the second, in the succession to private inheritances. Hence Louis inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the sovereignty of that important duchy.

Such an ambitious claim was more fit to be adjusted by military force than by argument; and, in that kind of dispute, the king of France was sensible of his superiority. He had only to contend with a weak woman, Anna Maria of Austria, queen regent of Spain, who was entirely governed by father Nithard, her confessor, a German Jesuit, whom she had placed at the head of her councils, after appointing him grand inquisitor. The ignorance and arrogance of this priest are sufficiently displayed in his reply to a nobleman who had treated him

with disrespect : “ You ought to revere the man,” said he, “ who has every day your God in his hands, and your “ queen at his feet⁴⁶.”

Father Nithard and his mistress had left the Spanish monarchy defenceless in every quarter : but, if the towns in the Low-Countries had been more strongly garrisoned, and the fortifications in a better state, the French king was prepared to overcome all difficulties. He entered Flanders at the head of forty thousand men : Turenne commanded under him ; and Louvois, his minister for military affairs, had placed large magazines in all the frontier towns. The Spaniards, though apprised of their danger, were in no condition to resist such a force. Charleroy, Aeth, Tournay, Furnes, Armentieres, Courtray, and Douay, immediately surrendered ; and Lisle, though a place of considerable strength, capitulated after a siege of nine days. Louvois advised the king to leave garrisons in all these towns, and the celebrated Vauban was employed to re-fortify them⁴⁷.

A progress so rapid filled Europe with terror and consternation. Another campaign, it was supposed, might put Louis in possession of all the Low-Countries. The Dutch were particularly alarmed at the prospect of having their frontier exposed to such an aspiring and encroaching neighbour. But, in looking around them, they saw no means of safety : for, although the emperor and the German princes discovered evident symptoms of discontent, their motions were slow and backward ; and no dependence, the states thought, could be placed on the variable and injudicious politics of the king of England. Contrary to all expectation, however, Charles resolved to take the first step toward a confederacy, which should apparently tend to restrain the power and the ambitious pretensions of France.

⁴⁶ Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. vii.

⁴⁷ Id. *ibid*. The citadel of Lisle was the first fortress constructed according to his new principles.

Sir William Temple, the English resident at Brussels, received orders to go secretly to the Hague for A.D. 1668. this purpose. Frank, open, sincere, and superior to the little arts of vulgar politicians, Temple found in de Wit a man of the same generous sentiments and honourable views. He immediately disclosed his master's intentions; and, although jealousy of the family of Orange might disincline de Wit to a strict union with England, he patriotically resolved to sacrifice every private consideration to the public safety. Louis, dreading a general combination, had offered to relinquish all his queen's rights to Brabant, on condition either of keeping the conquests of the late campaign, or of receiving Franche-Comté, and the towns of Aire and St. Omer. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon that proposal: they agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and to oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept it⁴³. A defensive alliance was at the same time concluded between England and Holland; and Sweden, soon after, concurred in the treaty.

This alliance, which has always been considered as the wisest measure in the disgraceful reign of Charles, restored England to her proper station in the scale of Europe, and greatly exalted the consequence of Holland. Yet it is somewhat surprising, that the same confederacy which was concerted to put a stop to the conquests of Louis, did not also require a positive renunciation of his unjust pretensions to the Spanish succession; for, if his former renunciations were not preclusive of the supposed rights accruing to his queen on the death of her father, they could be no bar to the rights that would accrue to her and her children on the death of her brother, whose

43 Temple at first insisted on an offensive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquish all her conquests; but this de Wit considered as too strong a measure to be agreed to by the states. The French monarch, he said, was young, haughty, and powerful; and, if treated in so imperious a manner, would expose himself to all extremities rather than submit. *Temple's Memoirs*, part 1.

languishing state of health left no room to hope that he could live to have offspring. But our surprise on this account ceases, when we are told, that the king of England was actuated by no views of general policy; that to acquire a temporary popularity with his subjects, to ruin de Wit by detaching him from France, and, in consequence of his fall, to raise the family of Orange, were Charles's only motives for standing forth as the head of the triple alliance⁴⁹. It gave, however, at the time, great satisfaction to the contracting powers, and filled the negotiators with the highest joy. "At Breda, as friends!"—cried Temple;—"here, as brothers!" and de Wit added, "Now the business is finished, it looks like a miracle"⁵⁰.

France and Spain were equally displeased at the terms of this treaty. Louis was enraged to find limits set to his ambition; for, although his own offer was made the basis of the league, that offer had only been thrown out with a view of allaying the jealousy of the neighbouring powers, and keeping them in a state of inaction, till he had reduced the whole ten provinces of the Low-Countries. Spain was no less dissatisfied at the thought of being obliged to give up so many important places, on account of such unjust claims and unprovoked hostilities. At length, however, both agreed to treat, and plenipotentiaries met at Aix-la-Chapelle; where Spain, from a consciousness of her weakness, accepted the alternative offered by France, but in a way that occasioned general surprise, and gave great uneasiness to the Dutch. Louis, under pretence of enforcing the peace, had entered Franche-Comté, and reduced the whole province in a few weeks. Spain chose to recover this territory, and to abandon all the towns conquered in the preceding campaign⁵¹; so that the French monarch extended his garrisons into the

⁴⁹ *Mem. de Gourville*, tome ii. See also Macpherson's *Hist. of Britain*, vol. i. and Dalrymple's *Append.*

⁵⁰ *Temple's Mem.* part i.

⁵¹ *Id. ibid.*

heart of the Low-Countries, and but a slender barrier remained to the United Provinces. But as the triple alliance guarantied the remaining provinces of Spain, and the emperor and the German princes, whose interests appeared to require its support, were invited to enter into the same confederacy, Louis, it was thought, could entertain no views of prosecuting his conquests in the quarter which lay most exposed to his ambition.

Other circumstances seemed to combine to ensure the balance of Europe. After a war of almost thirty years, carried on by Spain, in order to recover the sovereignty of Portugal, and attended with various success, an equitable treaty had at last been concluded between the two crowns, in consequence of which the independence of Portugal was acknowledged⁵². Being freed from this enemy, Spain might be expected to exert greater vigour in defence of her possessions in the Low-Countries; and the satisfaction expressed in England on account of the late treaty, promised the most hearty concurrence of the parliament in every measure that should be proposed for diminishing or checking the dangerous power and greatness of France.

But the bold ambition of Louis, aided by the pernicious policy of the faithless Charles, soon broke through all re-

⁵² This treaty, which was concluded through the mediation of the king of England, and to which a body of English troops had greatly contributed by their valour, was partly connected with an extraordinary revolution. Alphonso VI. (son of the famous duke of Braganza, who had encouraged the Portuguese to shake off the Spanish yoke, and who was rewarded with the crown), a weak and profligate prince, had offended his subjects by suffering himself to be governed by the mean companions of his pleasures. His queen, daughter of the duke of Nemours, attracted by the more agreeable qualities of his brother Don Pedro, forsook his bed, and fled to a monastery. She accused him of debility both of body and mind, sued for a divorce, and put herself, in the mean time, under the protection of the church. A faction seized the wretched Alphonso, who was confined in the island of Tercera; while his brother, who immediately married the queen, was declared regent of the kingdom in an assembly of the states. (*Vertot, Hist. des Revolutions de Port.*) Pedro, who was a prince of abilities, was preparing to assert with vigour the independence of his country, when it was established by treaty in the beginning of the year 1668.

strains; and, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, set at defiance more formidable confederacies than the Triple League.

LETTER XIII.

The general View of the Affairs of Europe continued from the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1668, to the Peace of Nimeguen, in 1678.

AS the most trivial causes frequently produce the greatest events, in like manner, my dear Philip, ambition will often seize and make use of the slightest circumstances as a pretext for its devastations—for deluging the earth with blood, and trampling upon the rights of mankind. Though Louis XIV. was highly incensed at the republic of Holland, for pretending to prescribe limits to his conquests, and had resolved upon revenge; yet his resentment seems to have been more particularly roused by the arrogance of Van Beuningen, the Dutch ambassador. This republican, who, although but a burgomaster of Amsterdam, possessed the vivacity of a courtier and the abilities of a statesman, took a peculiar pleasure in mortifying the pride of the French monarch, when employed in negotiating the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle. “Will you not trust to the king’s word?”—said M. de Lionne to him in a conference. “I know not what the king *will* do,” replied he:—“but I know what he *can* do!” A medal is also mentioned, though seemingly without foundation, on which Van Beuningen (his Christian name being *Joshua*) was represented, in allusion to the Scripture, as arresting the sun in his course:—and the sun was the device chosen for Louis XIV. by his flatterers¹! It is certain, however, that the states ordered a medal to be struck, on which, in a pompous inscription,

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. viii.

² Voltaire, *chap.* ix.

the republic is said to have conciliated kings, and restored tranquillity to Europe.

These were unpardonable affronts in the eyes of a young and haughty monarch, surrounded by minions and mistresses, and stimulated by an insatiable thirst of glory. But while Louis was making preparations for chastising the insolence of the Dutch, or rather for the conquest of Holland, his love of fame was attracted by a new object, and part of his forces employed against an enemy more deserving the indignation of the *Most Christian* King.

The Turks, after a long interval of inaction, had again become formidable to Europe. The grand vizir, Kupruli, who at once directed the councils and conducted the armies of the Porte, had entered Hungary at the head of eighty thousand men, in 1664; and although he was defeated in a great battle, near St. Gothard upon the Raab, by the imperial troops under the famous Montecuculi, the Turks obtained a favourable peace from Leopold, who was threatened with a revolt of the Hungarians. The Hungarian nobles, whose privileges had been invaded by the emperor, flew to arms, and even craved the assistance of their ancient enemies the Turks. The rebels were quickly subdued by the vigour of Leopold. But the majority of that brave people, who had so often repelled the infidels, and tilled, with the sword in their hand, a country watered with the blood of their ancestors, were still dissatisfied; and Germany itself, deprived of so strong a barrier as Hungary, was soon menaced by the Turks.

In the mean time Kupruli turned the arms of the Porte against the Venetians; and an army of sixty thousand Janisaries, under that able and experienced general, invested the capital of Candia in 1667, after a war of twenty-two years had been carried on between the Turks and the possessors of the island. The time of the crusades was long past, and the ardour which inspired them, extinguished. Though this island was reputed one of the

chief bulwarks of Christendom against the infidels, no general confederacy had been formed for its defence. The pope and the knights of Malta were the only allies of the Venetians, against the whole naval and military force of the Ottoman empire. At length, however, the French king, whose love of glory had made him assist the emperor against the Turks even in Hungary, sent a fleet from Toulon to the relief of Candia, with seven thousand men on board, under the duke of Beaufort. But as no other Christian prince imitated his example, these succours served only to retard the conquest of that important island. The duke was killed in a sally; and the town, being reduced to a heap of ruins, was surrendered to Kupruli³. The Turks, during this siege, discovered a considerable knowledge of the military art; and Morosini, the Venetian admiral, and Montbrun, who commanded the troops of the republic, made all the exertions, and took advantage of all the circumstances, that seemed possible for valour and conduct, in opposition to such superior armaments.

These distant operations did not for a moment divert the attention of Louis from his favourite project, the conquest of the Low-Countries, which he intended to resume with the invasion of Holland. But, in order to render that project successful, it seemed necessary to detach England from the Triple Alliance. This was no difficult matter.

Since the exile of lord Clarendon, which had been preceded by the death of the earl of Southampton, and was soon followed by that of the duke of Albemarle, Charles, having no man of principle to be a check upon his conduct, had given up his mind to arbitrary counsels. These counsels were directed by five persons, denominated the CABAL from the initial letters of their names; Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale: all

³ Voltaire, *ubi sup.*—Henault, 1669.

men of abilities, but destitute of either public or private virtue. They had flattered their sovereign in his desire of absolute power, and encouraged him to hope that he might accomplish it by a close connexion with France⁴. They argued, that Louis, if gratified in his ambition, would be found both able and willing to defend the common cause of kings against usurping subjects; that the conquest of the United Provinces, undertaken by two such potent monarchs, would prove an easy enterprise, and effectually contribute to the attainment of the great purpose desired; that, under pretence of the Dutch war, the king might levy a military force, without which he could never hope to maintain or enlarge his prerogative; and that, by subduing the republic of Holland, a great step would be made toward a desirable change in the English government; as it was evident that the fame and grandeur of that commonwealth fortified his majesty's factious subjects in their attachment to what they vainly termed their civil and religious liberties⁵.

But although such were the views of the king, and such the sentiments of his ministers, so conscious was Charles of the criminality of the measures he meant to pursue, that two only of the unprincipled members of the Cabal were thought fit to be trusted with his whole scheme; Clifford and Arlington, both secretly Catholics. By the counsels of these men, in conjunction with the duke of York and some other papists, was concluded at Paris, by the lord Arundel of Wardour, a secret treaty with France;

4 Charles's desire of absolute power seems to have proceeded more from a love of ease and an indolence of temper, than from any inclination to oppress his subjects. He wished to be able to raise the necessary supplies without the trouble of managing the parliament. But as his profusion was boundless, and his necessities in consequence of it were very great, it may be questioned whether, if he had accomplished his aim, he would not have loaded his people with taxes beyond what they could easily bear. At any rate, the attempt was atrocious; was treason against the constitution, and ought to be held in eternal detestation.

5 Boling. *Stud. Hist.*—Hume, vol. vii.

in which it was agreed, not only that Charles should co-operate in the conquest of the Low-Countries, and in the ruin of the Dutch republic, but that he should propagate, to the utmost of his power, the Catholic faith in his dominions, and publicly declare himself a convert to that religion⁶. In consideration of this last article, he was to be favoured with a pension of two hundred thousand pounds, and a body of troops, if the change of his religion should occasion a rebellion in England; and by another article, he was to receive an annual subsidy of 800,000 pounds during the war, that he might be enabled to act without the assistance of parliament⁷.

To concert measures conformable to this alliance, and to conceal from the world, and even from the majority of the Cabal, the secret treaty with France, a pompous farce was acted, and an important negotiation managed by a woman of twenty-five. Louis, under pretence
A. D. 1670.
of visiting his late conquests, but especially the great works he was erecting at Dunkirk, made a journey thither, accompanied with his whole court, and preceded or followed by thirty thousand men; some destined to reinforce the garrisons, some to work on the fortifications, and others to level the roads. Henrietta Maria of England, a beautiful and an accomplished princess, who had been married to the duke of Orléans, brother of Louis, took this opportunity of visiting her native country, as if attracted by its vicinity. Her brother Charles met her at Dover; where was concluded, between France and England, a mock treaty, perfectly similar to the real one, except in the article of religion, which was totally omitted; and where, amidst festivity and amusement, it was finally resolved to begin with the Dutch war, as a prelude to

⁶ The time when this declaration should be made, was left to Charles; who, at the prospect of being able to re-unite his kingdoms to the Catholic church, is said to have wept for joy. *King James's Mem.*

⁷ *King James.*—See also Dalrymple's *Append.*

the establishment of popery and arbitrary sway in Great Britain^s.

Soon after this negotiation, so pleasing to the French, and so disgraceful to the English monarch, died his sister, the duchess of Orléans, the brightest ornament of the court of Versailles, and the favourite of her family. Her death was sudden, and not without violent suspicions of poison; yet it made no alteration in the conduct of Charles. Always prodigal, he hoped, in consequence of this new alliance, to have his necessities amply supplied by the liberality of France and the spoils of Holland. And Louis, well acquainted with the fluctuating counsels of England, had taken care also to bind the king to his interests by a tie, yet stronger, if possible, than that of his wants—by the enslaving chain of his pleasures. When the duchess of Orléans arrived at Dover, she brought among her attendants, at the desire of the French monarch, a beautiful young lady of the name of Querouaille, who made the desired impression upon Charles. He sent proposals to her; his offers were accepted; and although the fair favourite, in order to preserve appearances, went back to France with her mistress, she soon returned to England. The king in the first transports of his passion, created her duchess of Portsmouth; and as he continued attached to her during the remainder of his life, she may be supposed to have been highly instrumental in continuing his connexions with her native country.

Louis, now sure of the friendship of Charles, and having almost completed his preparations for the invasion of

^s 8 *King James's Mem.*—Beside his eagerness for the conquest of Holland, Louis was apprehensive that, if Charles should begin with a declaration of his religion, to which he seemed inclined, it might create such troubles in England as would prevent him from receiving any assistance from that kingdom; a circumstance which weighed more with the French monarch, notwithstanding his bigotry, than the propagation of the Catholic faith. (*Dalrymple's Append.*) The duke of York, on the other hand, wished to begin with religion, foreseeing that Louis, after serving his own purposes, would no longer trouble himself about England. *King James's Mem.*

the United Provinces, took the first step toward the accomplishment of that object. There were two ways of leading an army from France into the territories of the republic: one lay through the Spanish Netherlands, the other through the dominions of the German princes upon the Rhine. The permission of marching through the former was not to be expected; to force a passage appeared dangerous and difficult: it was therefore resolved to attempt one through the latter. The petty princes upon the Rhine, it was presumed, might be corrupted with ease, or insulted with safety; but as it was necessary first to enter the territories of the duke of Lorrain, whose concurrence Louis thought it impossible to gain, on account of the memory of former injuries, he resolved to seize the dominions of a prince whom he could not hope to reconcile to his views. He accordingly ordered the marechal de Crequi, in breach of the faith of treaties, and in the height of security and peace, to enter Lorrain with a powerful army. The duchy was subdued in a short time; and the duke took refuge in the city of Cologne.

This enterprise, which seemed only a prelude to farther violences, gave great alarm to the continental powers, though they were ignorant of its final purpose; and Louis in vain endeavoured to justify his conduct, by the allegation of dangerous intrigues at the court of Lorrain⁹. Charles, though under no apprehensions from the ambition of the French monarch, took advantage of the general terror, to demand a large supply from his parliament. He informed the two houses, by the mouth of the lord-keeper Bridgeman, that both France and Holland were arming by sea and land, and that prudence dictated similar preparations to England. He also urged the necessity imposed upon him by the Triple Alliance, of maintaining a respectable fleet and army, in order to enable him to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. De-

⁹ *Suite de Mezeray.*—Henault, vol. ii.

ceived by these representations, the commons voted two millions and a half¹⁰; a grant unusually ample, and surely for the most detestable purpose that ever an abused people voluntarily aided their prince.

But neither this grant nor the remittances from France were equal to the accumulated necessities of the crown. Both were lost in the mysterious vortex of old demands and new profusions, before a fleet of fifty sail
A. D. 1671. was ready to put to sea. The king would not venture to re-assemble the parliament; for, although the treaty with France was yet a secret, though the nation was still ignorant of his treasonable designs against the religion and liberties of his subjects, the duke of York, the presumptive heir of the crown, had at last declared himself a Catholic, and a general alarm was spread of popery and arbitrary power. Some new expedient was therefore necessary, in order to raise money to complete the naval preparations; and, by the advice of sir Thomas Clifford, one of the Cabal, who was rewarded for his pernicious counsels with a peerage, it was resolved to shut the exchequer; to pay no money advanced upon the security of the funds, but to secure all the payments that should be made by the officers of the revenue, for the public service¹¹.

This arbitrary measure occasioned great consternation in the city: the bankers failed, the merchants could
A. D. 1672. not answer their bills, and a stagnation of com-

10 *Journals*, Oct. 24, 1670. As this liberal grant is a sufficient proof, that, if Charles had acted conformably to the wishes of his people, he would have had no reason to accuse the parliament of parsimony, it may be considered as a final refutation of all apologies for his conduct founded on such a supposition.

11 The hardships attending this measure will better be understood by a short explanation. It had been usual for the bankers to carry their money to the exchequer, where they received interest for it; and to advance it upon the security of the funds on which the parliament had charged the supplies, and out of which they were repaid, when the money was levied upon the public. One million four hundred thousand pounds had been advanced upon the faith of the money-bills passed in the last session of parliament, when the exchequer was shut. R. Coke, p. 168.

merce was the consequence. The king and his ministers, however, seemed to enjoy the general confusion and distress. Charles, in particular, was so pleased at being able to supply his wants without the aid of parliament, and so confident of success in the war with Holland, which he thought could not last above one campaign, that he became regardless of the complaints of his subjects: discovered strong symptoms of a despotic spirit; and exercised several acts of power utterly inconsistent with a limited government¹². But his first hostile enterprise was ill calculated to encourage such hopes, or support such arbitrary proceedings. Before the declaration of war, an insidious and unsuccessful attempt was made upon the Dutch fleet returning from Smyrna, valued at near two millions sterling, by an English squadron under sir Robert Holmes. And Charles had the infamy of violating the faith of treaties, without obtaining such advantages as could justify the measure on the principles of political prudence.

Though the preparations of England could not escape notice, it was not fully believed in Holland that they could be intended against the states before this act of hostility, which was immediately followed by a ^{March 17.} declaration of war. As Louis had taken offence at certain insolent speeches, and pretended *medals*, Charles, after complaining of a Dutch fleet, on its own coast, not striking the flag to an English yacht, mentioned certain *abusive pictures* as a cause of quarrel. The Dutch were at a loss for the meaning of this last article, until it was discovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the pensionary, painted by order of the magistrates of Dordrecht, and hung up in a chamber of the town-house, had given occasion to the complaint. In the back-ground of that picture, were drawn some ships on fire in a harbour, construed to be Chatham, near which port de Wit had really distinguished himself. But little did he or his country-

12 Rapin, vol. ii. fol. edit.—Hume, vol. vii.—Macpherson, vol. i.

men think, that an obscure allusion to that act of open hostility would rouse the resentment of England. In a word, reasons more false and frivolous were never employed to justify a flagrant breach of treaty¹³.

The French monarch, in his declaration of war, affected greater dignity. He did not condescend to specify particulars; he only pretended that the insolence of the Hollanders had been such, that it did not consist with his *glory* any longer to bear it. They had incurred his displeasure, and he denounced vengeance. This indignant language was ill suited to deliberate violence and injustice; but the haughty Louis had now completed his preparations, and his ambition was flattered with the most promising views of success.

The grand scheme of despotic ambition was now disclosed; and the unprincipled confederates prepared to act with extraordinary vigour. Sweden, as well as England, had been detached from the Triple League, by the intrigues of Louis, in order to be a check upon the emperor. The bishop of Munster, a warlike and rapacious prelate, was engaged by the payment of subsidies and the hopes of plunder to take part with France. The elector of Cologne had also agreed to act offensively against the states; and, when he had consigned Bonne and other towns into the hands of Louis, magazines were there erected, and it was proposed to invade the United Provinces from that quarter. The united fleets of France and England, exceeding a hundred sail, were ready to ravage the coasts; and a hundred and twenty thousand men, led by the ablest generals of the age, approached the frontiers of the republic.

The Dutch were in no condition to resist such a force, especially by land. The security and general tranquillity which had followed the peace of Westphalia, the subsequent connexions of the states with France, the growing

spirit of commerce, and even their wars with England, had made them neglect their military force, and throw all their strength into the navy. Their very fortifications, on which they had formerly rested their existence, were suffered to go out of repair; and their small army was ill disciplined, and worse commanded. The old officers, who were chiefly devoted to the house of Orange, had been dismissed during the triumph of the rigid republican party, and their places supplied by raw youths, the sons or kinsmen of burgomasters, by whose interest that party was supported. These new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, paid no attention to their military duty. Some of them, it is said, were even allowed to serve by deputies, to whom they assigned a small part of their pay¹⁴.

The pensionary, now sensible of his error in relying too implicitly on the faith of treaties, attempted to remedy these abuses, and to raise a respectable military force for the defence of his country, in this dangerous crisis. But every proposal which he made to that effect was counteracted by the partisans of the house of Orange, who ascribed to his misconduct alone the defenceless state of the republic; and their power, which had increased with the difficulties of the states, had become formidable by the popularity of the young prince William III., now in the twenty-second year of his age, who had already given strong indications of the great qualities which afterwards distinguished his active life. For these qualities William was not a little indebted to his generous and patriotic rival de Wit; who, conscious of the precarious situation of his own party, had given the prince an excellent education, and instructed him in all the principles of government and sound policy, in order to render him capable of serving his country, if any future emergency should throw the government into his hands¹⁵.

14 Le Clerc.—Temple.—Voltaire.

15 Le Clerc.—Temple.

The conduct of William had hitherto been highly deserving of approbation, and such as could not fail to recommend him to his countrymen. Though encouraged by Charles and the elector of Brandenburg to aim at the dignity of stadtholder, he had expressed his resolution of depending entirely on the states for his advancement. The whole tenor of his behaviour was extremely suitable to the genius of the Hollanders. Grave and silent, even in youth; ready to hear, and to inquire; destitute of brilliant talents, but possessing a sound and steady intellect; greatly intent on business, little inclined to pleasure, he strongly engaged the attachment of his countrymen. And the people, remembering what they owed to his family, which had so gloriously protected them against the exorbitant power of Spain, were desirous of raising him to all the authority of his ancestors; as the leader whose valour and conduct could alone deliver them from the alarming danger with which they were threatened. In consequence of this general predilection, William was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. New levies were made, and the army was completed to the number of seventy thousand men. But raw troops could not instantly acquire discipline or experience: and the friends of the prince were still dissatisfied, because the Perpetual Edict, by which he was excluded from the office of stadtholder, was not yet revoked. The struggle between the parties continued; and, by their mutual animosities, the vigour of every public measure was broken, and the execution of every project retarded.

De Wit, still attending to the navy in preference to the army, hastened the equipment of the fleet; in hopes that, by striking at first a successful blow, he might be able to inspire courage into the dismayed states, as well as support his declining authority. Animated by the same hopes, de Ruyter, his firm adherent, and the greatest

naval officer of the age, put to sea with ninety large ships, and forty smaller vessels of war.

The English fleet, under the duke of York and the earl of Sandwich, had already joined the French fleet, commanded by count d'Estrées. With this junction the Dutch were unacquainted, and hoped to take signal vengeance on the English for their perfidious attempt on the Smyrna fleet. When de Ruyter came in sight, the combined fleet, to the number of a hundred and ^{May 28.} twenty sail, lay at anchor in Southwold Bay. The earl of Sandwich, who had before warned the duke of the danger of being surprised in such a posture, but whose advice had been slighted as savouring of timidity, now hastened out of the bay; where the Dutch, by their fire-ships, might have destroyed the whole fleet of their adversaries. Though determined to conquer or perish, he so tempered his courage with prudence, that the combined fleet was evidently indebted to him for its safety. He commanded the van; and, by his vigour and dispatch, gave the duke of York and d'Estrées time to disengage themselves. Rushing into battle, and presenting a front to every danger, he had drawn the chief attention of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship, after a furious engagement; he sunk a man of war, and three fire-ships that endeavoured to grapple with him. Though his own ship was much shattered, and, of nine hundred men whom he had on board, two-thirds were killed or wounded, he still continued to thunder with all his artillery, and to set the enemy at defiance, until he was attacked by a fourth fire-ship more fortunate than the three others. The ruin of his ship was now inevitable; yet he refused to make his escape¹⁶. So deep had the duke's

¹⁶ Burnet.—Temple.—King James, in his Memoirs, makes no mention of any disagreement with the earl of Sandwich; but this silence is surely insufficient to weigh against the general testimony of other contemporary writers. It was a circumstance not to his honour, and was therefore likely to be concealed. His account of the battle seems in other respects accurate.

sarcasm sunk into his mind, that a brave death, in those awful moments, appeared to him the only refuge from ignominy, since his utmost efforts had not been attended with victory.

During this terrible conflict between Van Ghent's division and the earl of Sandwich, the duke of York and de Ruyter were not idle. The duke bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and fought with such fury for two hours, that of thirty-two actions in which the hoary veteran had been engaged, he declared that this was the most vigorously disputed. Night put a stop to the doubtful contest. The next morning, the duke of York thought it prudent to retire¹⁷. The Dutch, though much disabled, attempted to harass him in his retreat: he turned upon them, and renewed the fight; and sir Joseph Jordan (who had assumed the command of the van) having gained the weather-gage of the enemy, de Ruyter fled, from a sense of his danger, and was pursued by the duke to the coast of Holland. As the English hung close to his rear, fifteen of his disabled ships could only have been saved by a sudden fog. The French had scarcely any share in this action; and, as backwardness is not their national characteristic, it was universally believed, that they had received orders to remain at a distance, while the English and Dutch were weakening each other; an opinion which was confirmed by all the subsequent engagements during the war.

It was certainly honourable for the Dutch to have fought the combined fleet with so little loss; but if they had even been victorious on this occasion, the mischiefs which threatened them by land would not perhaps have been prevented.

The king of France divided his numerous army into three bodies. The first he headed in person, assisted by the famous Turenne; the prince of Condé led the second;

and Chamilli and Luxembourg commanded the third. The armies of the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Munster appeared on the other side of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the states. Too weak to defend their extensive frontier, the Dutch troops were scattered into so many towns, that no considerable body appeared in the field; and yet a strong garrison was scarcely to be found in any fortress. Orsoy, Wesel, Rhinberg, and Burick, were taken, almost as soon as invested, by the French generals. Groll surrendered to the bishop of Munster: and Louis, to the universal consternation of the Hollanders, advanced in June to the banks of the Rhine¹⁸.

The passage of that river, so much celebrated by the flatterers of Louis, had in it nothing extraordinary. The extreme dryness of the season, in addition to the other misfortunes of the Dutch, had much diminished the greatest rivers, and rendered many of them, in some places, fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the presence of their prince, and protected by a furious discharge of artillery, threw themselves into the Rhine, and had only a few fathoms to swim: the infantry, with the king at their head, passed quietly over a bridge of boats: and as only a few Dutch regiments, without any cannon, appeared on the other side, the peril was not very alarming¹⁹.

The attempt, however, was bold, and its success augmented the glory of Louis and the terror of his arms. Arnheim immediately surrendered to Turenne; and Schenck, which had formerly sustained a siege of eight months, was now reduced in less than a week. Nimeguen, and a number of other towns, were delivered up on the first summons; and the prince of Orange, unable to make head against the victorious enemy, retired into the

¹⁸ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. ix.—Henault.

¹⁹ The notion which generally prevailed of this passage at Paris was, that all the French forces had passed the Rhine by swimming, in the face of an army entrenched on the other side, and amidst the fire of artillery from an impregnable fortress called the *Tolhuys*. Voltaire, *ubi sup*.

province of Holland with his small and discouraged army. The progress of Louis, like the course of an inundation, leveled every thing before it. The town and province of Utrecht sent deputies to implore his clemency. Naerden, within thirteen miles of Amsterdam, was reduced by the marquis of Rochefort; and, if he had taken possession of Muyden, the keys of which were delivered to some of his advanced parties, but recovered by the magistrates when the moment of terror was over, Amsterdam itself must have fallen, and with it perhaps the republic of Holland.

But this opportunity being neglected, the states had leisure to recollect themselves; and the same ambitious vanity, which had induced the French monarch to undertake the conquest of the United Provinces, proved the
June 25, means of their preservation. Louis entered
N. S. Utrecht in triumph, surrounded by a splendid court, and followed by a gallant army, glittering with gold and silver. Poets and historians attended to celebrate his exploits, and transmit the fame of his victories to posterity. In the course of a few weeks, the provinces of Guelderland, Utrecht, and Over-Yssel, had submitted to his arms: Friseland and Groningen were invaded by the bishop of Munster; and only the reduction of Holland and Zealand seemed necessary to crown his enterprise. But he wasted in vain parade at Utrecht the season proper for that purpose.

The people of the remaining provinces, instead of collecting courage and unanimity from the approach of danger, became still more a prey to faction, and ungovernable and outrageous from their fears. They ascribed all their misfortunes to the unhappy de Wit, whose prudence and patriotism had formerly been the object of such general applause. Not only the bad state of the army, and the ill choice of governors, were imputed to him, but, as instances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was suspected; and his former connexions with France being remembered,

the populace believed that he and his party had conspired to betray them to their ambitious enemy. Under this apprehension, and perhaps from a hope of disarming the resentment of the king of England, the torrent of popular favour ran strongly toward the prince of Orange, who was represented as the only person able to save the republic. The pensionary and his partisans, however, unwilling to relinquish their authority, still opposed the repeal of the Perpetual Edict; and hence the distracted counsels of the states continued to endanger the country.

Amsterdam alone, amidst the general despondency, seemed to retain any degree of courage or conduct. The magistrates obliged the burgesses to keep strict watch; the populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed and disciplined for the public defence. Ships were stationed to guard the city by sea; and, as a last resource, the sluices were opened and the neighbouring country was laid under water, without regard to the fertile fields, the numerous villas, and flourishing villages, which were overwhelmed by the inundation²⁰! The whole province followed the example of the capital. But the security derived from this expedient was not sufficient to infuse courage into the dejected states. The body of the nobles, and eleven towns, voted to send ambassadors to the hostile kings, in order to supplicate peace. They offered to surrender Maestricht, and all the frontier towns situated beyond the limits of the Seven Provinces, and to pay a large sum toward the expenses of the war. Fortunately for the republic and for Europe, these conditions were rejected. Louis, in the absence of Turenne, listened to the violent counsels of Louvois, whose unreasonable demands threw the states into a despair that overcame their fears. The demands of Charles were not more moderate. The terms required by this prince and his haughty ally would have

²⁰ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. ix.—*Temple's Mem.* part ii.

deprived the commonwealth of all security, by sea as well as by land, and have reduced it to a state of perpetual dependence. Yet were the provinces still agitated by the animosities of faction. Enraged to find their country enfeebled by party jealousy, when its very political existence was threatened, the people rose at Dordrecht,

July 5. and forced their magistrates to sign the repeal of the Perpetual Edict. Other towns followed the example, and the prince of Orange was declared stadtholder. This revolution, so favourable to the defence of the republic, was followed by a lamentable tragedy. The talents and virtues of the pensionary de Wit marked him out as a sacrifice to the vengeance of the Orange party, now triumphant. But popular fury prevented the interposition of power. His brother Cornelius, who had so often served his country with his sword, was accused, by a man of an infamous character, of endeavouring to bribe him to poison the prince of Orange. The accusation, though attended with the most improbable circumstances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude, and even by the magistrates. Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature, and put to the torture, in order to draw a confession of his crime. He bore with the most intrepid firmness all that cruelty could inflict: but he was deprived of his employments, and sentenced to banishment for life. The pensionary, who had supported his brother through the whole prosecution, resolved not to desert him in his disgrace. He accordingly went to his prison, intending to accompany him to the place of his exile. The signal was given to the populace. They broke open the prison doors; they pulled out the two brothers; wounded, mangled, and brutally tore them to pieces²¹.

The massacre of these obnoxious citizens, by extinguishing for a time the animosities of party, gave vigour and unanimity to the councils of the states. All men, from

21 *Temple's Mem.* part ii. See also Burnet, Basnage, and Le Clerc.

fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in paying the most implicit obedience to the prince of Orange; and William, worthy of that heroic family from which he was descended, adopted sentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He exhorted them to reject with scorn the humiliating conditions demanded by their imperious enemies; and, by his advice, the states put an end to negotiations which had served only to depress the courage of the citizens, and delay the assistance of their allies. He showed them, that, aided by the advantages of their situation, they would still be able, if they should not abandon themselves to despondency, to preserve the remaining provinces, until the other nations of Europe, sensible of their common danger, could come to their relief. And he professed himself willing to undertake their defence, provided they would second his efforts with the same manly fortitude, which they had so often displayed under his illustrious predecessors.

The spirit of the young prince seemed to diffuse itself through the whole republic. The people, who had lately entertained only the thought of yielding their necks to subjection, now bravely determined to resist the haughty victor, and to defend the remnant of their native soil, of which neither the arms of Louis nor the inundation had yet bereaved them. Should even the ground on which they might combat fail them, to use the forcible language of Hume, they were still resolved not to yield the generous strife, but, flying to their settlements in the East Indies, erect a new empire in the south of Asia, and preserve alive, even in the climates of slavery, that liberty of which Europe was unworthy. They had already concerted measures, we are told, for this extraordinary resolution; and found, that the ships in their harbours adequate to such a voyage, were capable of carrying fifty thousand families, or about two hundred thousand persons²².

22 Burnet, book ii.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. ix.—The reflections of Voltaire on

No sooner did the confederate kings perceive the new spirit with which the Dutch were animated, than they bent all their efforts to corrupt the prince of Orange. They offered him the sovereignty of the province of Holland, to be enjoyed under the protection of France and England, and secured against the invasion of foreign enemies, as well as the revolt of his own subjects. But William, from motives of prudence, if not patriotism, rejected all such proposals. He was sensible that the season of extreme danger was over, and that the power which he had lately derived from the suffrages of his countrymen, was both more honourable and less precarious, than that which must depend on princes, who had already sacrificed their faith to their ambition. He therefore declared, that he would sooner retire, if all his endeavours should fail, and pass his life in hunting on his lands in Germany, than betray the trust reposed in him, by selling the liberties of his country²³. And when asked, in a haughty tone, if he did not see that his country was already ruined, he firmly replied, "There is one way, by which I can be certain never to see the ruin of my country; and that is, to die in disputing the last ditch²⁴."

The Dutch, however, were much disappointed in finding that the elevation of the prince of Orange to the dignity of stadt-holder had no influence on the measures of his uncle, the king of England. Charles persisted in his alliance with France. But other circumstances saved the republic. When the hostile fleets approached the coast of Holland, with an army on board commanded by count Schomberg,

this subject are truly ingenious and striking. "Amsterdam, the emporium and the magazine of Europe, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thousand inhabitants, would soon, in that event, have become one vast morass. All the adjacent lands, which require immense expense, and many thousands of men, to keep up their dykes, would again have been overwhelmed by that ocean from which they had been gained, leaving to Louis XIV. only the wretched glory of having destroyed one of the finest and most extraordinary monuments of human industry."

they were carried back to sea in so wonderful a manner, and afterward prevented from landing the forces by such stormy weather, that Providence was believed to have interposed miraculously to prevent the ruin of the Hollanders²⁵; and Louis, finding that his enemies gained courage behind their inundations, and that no farther progress was likely to be made by his arms during the campaign, had retired to Versailles, in order to enjoy the glory of his success, which was pompously displayed in poems, orations, and triumphal arches. Meanwhile the other states of Europe began to discover a jealousy of the power of France. The emperor, A. D. 1673. though naturally slow, had put himself in motion; the elector of Brandenburg showed a disposition to support the states; the king of Spain had sent some forces to their assistance; and, by the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange, and the prospect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began to appear.

From none of their friends and allies did the Dutch more confidently expect relief than from the English parliament, which the king's necessities obliged Feb. 4. him at last to convene. But that assembly was too much occupied with domestic grievances, to have leisure to attend to foreign politics. Charles, among his other arbitrary measures, had issued a declaration of general indulgence in religious matters, by which the Catholics were placed on the same footing with the Protestant sectaries. The purpose of this measure was easily foreseen, and excited a general alarm. A remonstrance was framed against such an exercise of prerogative: the king defended his conduct, and the hopes and fears of all men were suspended, in regard to the issue of so extraordinary an affair. Beside his usual guards, Charles had an army encamped on Blackheath under a foreign commander. Many of the officers were of the Catholic religion; and he had reason to expect that his ally, the

king of France, would supply him with troops, if force should become necessary for restraining his discontented subjects.

But Charles, although encouraged by his ministers to proceed, was startled when he approached the dangerous precipice; and the same love of ease which had led him to desire arbitrary power, induced him to retract the declaration of indulgence, when he saw what hazard and difficulty there would be in maintaining it. He accordingly called for the writing, and broke the seals
March 7. with his own hand²⁶. But the two houses, though highly pleased with this compliance, thought another step necessary for the security of their civil and religious liberties. They passed an act called the TEST; by which all persons, holding any public office, beside taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and receiving the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, were obliged to abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation. Even to this bill the king gave his assent; and the parliament, in recompense for these concessions, granted him a considerable supply for his *extraordinary occasions*, as they expressed themselves, disdaining to mention a war which they abhorred²⁷.

Charles, though baffled in his favourite project, and obliged tacitly to relinquish the dispensing power of the crown, was still determined to persevere in his alliance with France, in the Dutch war, and consequently in all the secret designs which depended on such pernicious measures. With the money granted by parliament, he was enabled to equip a fleet, the command of which was given to prince Rupert, the duke of York being set aside by the Test. Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Ossory commanded under the prince.

The English fleet and a French squadron sailed toward

²⁶ Echard.—Burnet.—Rapin.—The people were so transported at this victory over the prerogative, that they expressed, with bonfires and illuminations, their tumultuous joy.

²⁷ Journals, March, 1673.

the coast of Holland, where three indecisive battles were fought with the Dutch, under de Ruyter and Van Tromp. The third claims our attention on account of its obstinacy. Tromp fell along the side of Spragge, ^{Aug. 11.} and both engaged with great spirit. Tromp was compelled once to shift his flag, Spragge twice to quit his ship; and, unfortunately, as the English admiral was passing to a third ship, in order to hoist his flag, and renew the dispute, a shot struck his boat, and he was drowned, to the regret even of his enemies. But the death of this gallant officer did not pass unrevenge. Van Tromp, after the disaster of Spragge, was repulsed, in spite of his most vigorous efforts, by the intrepidity of the earl of Ossory²⁸.

In the mean time a furious combat was maintained between de Ruyter and prince Rupert. Never did the prince acquire more deserved honour; his conduct being no less conspicuous than his valour, which shone with distinguished lustre. When victory had long remained doubtful, the prince threw the Dutch into some confusion; and, in order to increase it, sent two fire-ships among them. They at once took to flight; and had the French, who were masters of the wind, and to whom a signal was made, borne down upon the foe, a decided advantage would have been gained. But they paid no regard to the signal. The English, seeing themselves neglected by their allies, gave over the pursuit; and de Ruyter, with little loss, made good his retreat. The victory, as usual, was claimed by both sides²⁹.

While the Dutch thus continued to defend themselves with vigour by sea, fortune was still more favourable to them by land. Though the French monarch took Maestricht, one of their strongest bulwarks, after a siege of twenty days, no other advantage was obtained during the campaign. Naerden was retaken by the prince of Orange;

²⁸ Carte's *Life of the duke of Ormond*.—Burchet, p. 404.

²⁹ Burchet.—Basnage.—Kennet.

and the Imperialists, under Montecuculi, after having in vain attempted against Turenne the passage of the Rhine, eluded the vigilance of that able general, and sat down suddenly before Bonne. The prince of Orange, by a conduct no less masterly, leaving behind him the other French generals, joined his army to that of the empire. Bonne surrendered in the autumn, after a short siege. The greater part of the electorate of Cologne was subdued by the Dutch and Germans; and the communication between France and the United Provinces being thus cut off, Louis was obliged to recall his forces, and abandon his conquests with the utmost precipitation³⁰. The very monuments of his glory were not completed, when he returned in disgrace: the triumphal arch at the gate of St. Denis was yet unfinished, after all cause of triumph had ceased³¹.

A congress holden at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden, was attended with no success. The requisitions of the confederate kings were originally such as must have reduced the Hollanders to perpetual servitude; and although they sunk in their demands, in proportion as the affairs of the states rose, the Dutch fell still lower in their offers; so that it was found impossible for the parties, without some remarkable change of fortune, ever to agree on any conditions. After the French had evacuated Holland, the congress broke up. No longer anxious for their safety, the states were now bent on revenge. Their negotiations at the courts of Vienna and Madrid were approaching to a happy conclusion. Both branches of the house of Austria were alarmed at the ambition of Louis; and the emperor and the Catholic king publicly signed a treaty with the United Provinces before the close of the year. Forgetting her ancient animosities against the republic, in the recent injuries which she had received from the French monarch, Spain immediately issued a declaration of war; and, by a strange reverse in her policy, de-

30 Henault.

31 Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. x.

fended the Dutch against France and England, by whose aid they had become independent of her power!

The boundless ambition of Louis, with the dark designs and mercenary meanness of Charles, which led him to a close alliance with France, had totally changed the system of European policy. But a run of events which it was not in the power of the confederate kings to reverse, at last brought things back to what was usually considered as their natural order. Of these events, the first was the peace between England and Holland.

When the English parliament met, the commons discovered such strong symptoms of discontent at the late measures of government, that the king, perceiving he could expect no supply for carrying on the war, asked their advice in regard to peace. Both houses ^{Jan. 24,} thanked him for his condescension, and unani- ^{1674.} mously concurred in their advice for a negotiation. Peace was accordingly concluded with Holland, by the marquis del Fresno, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, who added the influence of his own court to the other reasons which had induced Charles to listen to terms. The conditions, though not very advantageous, were by no means degrading to England. The honour of the flag was relinquished by the Dutch; all possessions were mutually restored; new regulations of trade were adjusted; and the republic agreed to pay the king about two hundred thousand pounds toward the expense of the war³². Charles bound himself to the states, by a secret article, not to allow the English troops in the French service to be recruited, but would not agree to recall them. They amounted to ten thousand men, and had greatly contributed to the rapid success of Louis³³.

Though the peace with Holland relieved the king from many of his difficulties, it did not restore him to the con-

³² *Articles of Peace, in the Journals of the Lords.*

³³ The king's partiality to France prevented a strict execution of his engagement relative to the recruiting of these troops.

fidence of his people, or allay the jealousy of the parliament. Sensible of this jealousy, Charles, who had always been diffident of the attachment of his subjects, still kept up his connexions with France. He apologised to Louis for the step he had taken, by representing the real state of his affairs; and the French monarch, with great complaisance and good humour, admitted the validity of his excuses. To atone farther for deserting his ally, Charles offered his mediation to the contending powers.

Willing to negotiate under so favourable a mediator, the king of France readily acceded to the offer. As it was apprehended, however, that, for a like reason, the allies would be inclined to refuse it, sir William Temple, whose principles were known to be favourable to the general interests of Europe, was invited from his retreat, and appointed ambassador from England to the states. Temple accepted the office. But reflecting on the unhappy issue of his former negotiations, and on the fatal turn of counsels which had occasioned it, he resolved, before he set out on his embassy, to acquaint himself, as far as possible, with the king's real sentiments in regard to those popular measures which he seemed to have resumed. He therefore took occasion, at a private audience, to blame the dangerous schemes and dishonourable counsels of the Cabal³⁴. And when the king seemed disposed to vindicate the measures of his ministers, but blamed the means employed to carry them into execution, that patriotic statesman endeavoured to show his sovereign how difficult, if not impossible, it would be, to introduce into England the same system of religion and government that prevailed in France; that the general bent of

34 The Cabal was now in a manner dissolved. Clifford was dead; and Ashley, created earl of Shaftesbury, had gone over to the popular party, in order to avoid the danger of an impeachment, when he found that the king wanted courage to support his ministers in those measures which he had himself dictated. Buckingham, in consequence of wavering and inconsistent conduct, was become of small account; but Lauderdale and Arlington were still of some weight.

the nation was against both; that many, who appeared indifferent in regard to all religions, would yet oppose the introduction of popery, as they were sensible it could not be effected without military force, and that the same force, which should enable the king to bring about such a change, would also make him master of their civil liberties; that, in France, it was only necessary for a monarch to gain the nobility and clergy, as the peasants, having no land, were equally insignificant with our women and children—whereas, in England, a great part of the landed property was in the hands of the yeomanry or lower gentry, whose hearts were high with ease and plenty, while the inferior orders in France were dispirited by oppression and want: that a king of England, since the abolition of the feudal policy, could neither raise nor maintain an army, except by the voluntary supplies of his parliament; that, if he had an army on foot, it would never, unless it consisted of foreigners, be induced to serve ends which the people so much hated and feared; that the Catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two-hundredth; and it seemed against all common sense to hope, by any one part, to govern ninety-nine, who were of different humours and sentiments; that foreign troops, if few, would serve only to inflame hatred and discontent; and to bring over at once, and maintain many (for no less than sixty thousand would be necessary, to subdue the spirit and liberties of the nation), would be extremely difficult, if not absolutely impracticable³⁵.

These reasonings Temple endeavoured to enforce by the authority of Gourville, a French statesman, who had resided some time in England, and for whose judgement he knew Charles had great respect. “A king of England——” said Gourville, on hearing of our dissensions, ——“who will be the MAN of his *People*, is the greatest

³⁵ Temple's *Mém.* part ii. chap i.

“king in the world; but if he will be something more, “by God! he is nothing at all.” The king, who had listened with impatience at first, seemed now open to conviction; and laying his hand on that of Temple, said with an air of sincerity—“I will be the MAN of *my people*³⁶!”

When sir William went abroad, he found a variety of circumstances likely to defeat the purpose of his embassy. The allies in general, independently of their jealousy of Charles’s mediation, expressed great ardour for the continuance of the war. Spain had engaged Holland to stipulate never to come to an accommodation, until all things in Flanders should be restored to the same situation in which they were left by the Pyrenean treaty: the emperor had high pretensions on Alsace; and although the Dutch, oppressed by heavy taxes, might be desirous of peace, they could not, without violating all the principles of honour and policy, abandon those allies to whose protection they had so lately been indebted for their safety. The prince of Orange, who had a preponderating influence in their councils, and in whose family they had recently decreed the perpetuity of the office of stadtholder, was beside ambitious of military fame, and convinced, that it would be in vain to negotiate till a greater impression should be made upon France, as no equitable terms could otherwise be expected from Louis³⁷. The operations of the ensuing campaign did not contribute to this effect.

Louis astonished all Europe by the vigour of his exertions. He had three great armies in the field this summer; one on the side of Germany, one in Flanders, and one on the frontiers of Roussillon; and he himself, at the head of a fourth, entered Franche Comté, and quickly subdued the whole province. The taking of Besançon was matter of great triumph to the French monarch. He

36 *Temple’s Mem.* part ii. chap. i.

37 Temple, ubi sup.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. x.

loved sieges, and is said to have understood them well; but he never besieged a town without being morally certain of taking it. Louvois prepared all things so effectually, the troops were so well appointed, and Vauban, who conducted most of the sieges, was so great a master in the art of taking towns, that the king's glory was perfectly safe. The town of Besançon was reduced in three weeks, and the conquest of the citadel soon followed. This now became (instead of Dol) the capital of the province.

Nothing of importance happened in Roussillon: but in Flanders, the prince of Condé, with an inferior army, prevented the prince of Orange from entering France by that quarter: and, after long avoiding an engagement, from motives of prudence, he attacked the rear of the confederates, when an opportunity offered, in a narrow defile near Seneffe, a village of Brabant; threw them into confusion, and took great part of their cannon and baggage. The prince of Orange, however, less remarkable for preventing misfortune than for stopping its progress, rallied his disordered forces; led them back to the charge; pushed the veteran troops of France; and obliged the great Condé to exert more desperate efforts, and hazard his person more than in any action during his life, though now in an advanced age, and though he had been particularly distinguished in youth by the impetuosity of his courage. William did not expose his person less. Hence the generous and candid testimony of Condé, forgetful of his own behaviour: "The prince of Orange has acted in every thing like an old captain, except in venturing his life too much like a young soldier³⁸."

The engagement was several times renewed; and, after sun-set, it was continued for two hours by the light of the moon. Darkness at last, not the slackness of the combatants, put an end to the contest, and left the victory undecided. Twelve thousand men lay dead on the field, and

the loss on each side was nearly equal³⁹. In order to give an air of superiority to the allies, and to bring the French to a new engagement, the prince of Orange besieged Oudenarde; but, the imperial general (the count de Souches) not being inclined to hazard a battle, he was obliged to relinquish his enterprise, on the approach of Condé. Before the close of the campaign, however, after an obstinate siège, he took Grave, the last town which the French held in any of the Seven Provinces⁴⁰.

Turenne, who commanded on the side of Germany, completed the high reputation which he had already acquired, of being the greatest general of his age and nation. He passed the Rhine at Philipsburg, and defeated the old duke of Lorraine, and Caprara, the imperial general, at Sintzheim. With twenty thousand men, he possessed himself of the whole Palatinate, by driving the confederate German princes beyond the Neckar and the Maine. They returned, however, with a very numerous army, while he was in Lorraine, and poured into Alsace, where they intended to pass the winter. He came back upon them unexpectedly; routed the Imperialists at Mulhausen, and chased from Colmar the elector of Brandenburg, who commanded the troops of the allied princes. He gained a farther advantage at Turkheim; and having dislodged all the Germans, obliged them to pass the Rhine. But the glory of this success was stained by the cruelties committed in the Palatinate; where the elector beheld, from his castle at Manheim, two cities and twenty-five towns in flames⁴¹, and where lust and rapine walked hand in hand with fire and sword. Stung with rage and revenge at such a spectacle, he challenged Turenne to single combat. The marechal coolly replied, that he could not accept such a challenge without his master's leave, but was ready to meet the Palatine in the field,

39 Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xi.

40 Temple, ubi sup.

41 Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xi.

at the head of his army, against any which that prince and his new allies could bring together⁴².

These events inspired the people of England with the most melancholy apprehensions, but gave sincere satisfaction to the court; and Charles, at the request of the king of France, prorogued the parliament from October to April in the following year, lest the commons should force him to take part with the United Provinces. The price of this prorogation was one hundred thousand pounds⁴³.

Louis, notwithstanding his triumphs, was alarmed at the number of his enemies; and therefore, beside purchasing the neutrality of England, he endeavoured, though in vain, to negotiate a peace with Holland. The events of the next campaign showed that his fears were well grounded. Though he entered Flanders with a great army, commanded by himself and the prince of Condé, he was unable to gain any important advantage over the prince of Orange, who opposed him in all his motions. Neither party was willing, without some peculiarly favourable circumstance, to hazard a general engagement, which might be attended with the utter loss of Flanders, if victory should declare for the French, and with an invasion of France if the king should be defeated. Disgusted at his want of success, Louis returned to Versailles in the summer; and nothing memorable happened in the Low-Countries during the campaign.

The campaign was still less favourable to France in other quarters. Turenne was opposed, on the side of Germany, by the celebrated Montecuculi. The object of the latter was to pass the Rhine, and penetrate into Alsace, Lorraine, or Burgundy; that of the former, to guard the frontiers of France, and baffle all schemes of rival hostility. The most consummate skill was displayed on both sides. Both had reduced war to a science, and each was

⁴² Temple's Mem. part ii.

⁴³ Dalrymple's Append.—Macpherson's Hist. Brit. chap. iv.

enabled to discover the designs of the other, by judging what he would have done in like circumstances. Turenne, by posting himself on the German side of the Rhine, was enabled not only to prevent Montecuculi from passing that river, but to seize any opportunity that fortune might present. Such a happy moment he thought he had discerned, and was preparing to take advantage of it, by bringing the Germans to a decisive engagement, and his own generalship and that of Montecuculi to a final trial, July 27, when a period was put to his life by a cannon-ball, N.S. as he was viewing the position of the enemy, and taking measures for erecting a battery⁴⁴.

The consternation of the French, on the loss of their general, was inexpressible. Those who a moment before were confident of victory, now thought of nothing but flight. A dispute relative to the command between the count de Lorge, nephew to Turenne, and the marquis de Vaubrun, was added to their grand misfortune. They retreated: Montecuculi pressed them hard; but, by the valour of the English auxiliaries, who brought up the rear, and the abilities of de Lorge, who inherited a considerable share of the genius of his uncle, they were enabled to repass the Rhine without much loss. The prince of Condé came with a reinforcement to supply the place of Turenne; and though he was not, perhaps, in all respects, equal to that accomplished general, he prevented the Germans from establishing themselves in Alsace, and obliged them to return into their own country.

Before the arrival of Condé, a detachment from the German army had been sent to the siege of Treves; an enterprise which the allies had greatly at heart. Crequi having advanced to the relief of the place, the Germans, whom he despised, leaving part of their forces in the lines, advanced to meet him with the main body under the dukes of Zell and Osnabrug, and totally routed him. He escaped with

44 *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. i.—Henault.—Voltaire.

only four attendants, and, throwing himself into Treves, determined to perish rather than surrender the town. But the garrison, after a gallant defence, resolving not to fall a sacrifice to his obstinacy, capitulated for themselves; and because he refused to sign the articles, they delivered him into the hands of the enemy⁴⁵.

By a vigorous concurrence with the allies, the king of England might now have regained the confidence of his people and the respect of all Europe. He might have set bounds, for a long period, to the power of France, and have been the happy instrument of preventing the sanguinary effects of Gallic ambition. He was not ignorant of the importance of his situation; but, instead of taking advantage of it to humble Louis, he thought only of acquiring money to squander upon his pleasures, by selling his neutrality to that monarch! A new treaty was accordingly concluded between the kings, by ^{A. D. 1676.} which they obliged themselves to enter into no treaties without mutual consent; and in which Charles farther agreed, in consideration of an annual pension, to prorogue or dissolve his parliament, should it attempt to force him to declare war against France⁴⁶.

Thus secure of the neutrality of England, Louis made vigorous preparations for carrying on the war in Flanders,

⁴⁵ Voltaire, chap. xi.

⁴⁶ Rouvigny to Louis XIV., Jan. 9, and Feb. 27, 1675, in *Dalrymple's Appendix*. The proofs that Charles was a pensioner of France do not rest solely upon these Letters. They are also to be found in *King James's Memoirs* and the *Danby Papers*. Bolingbroke seems to have been perfectly acquainted with them; and very justly observes, that Charles, by this meanness, whatever might be his motives for submitting to it, "established the superiority of France in Europe." Unprincipled as the ministers of Charles were, it is with pleasure that we learn from Rouvigny's dispatches, not one of them heartily concurred in this infamous treaty. "Hence," says he to his master, "your majesty will plainly see, that, *in all England, only the king and the duke of York embrace your interests with affection!*" (Feb. 27, 1676.) And, in another letter, he affirms, "I can answer for it to your majesty, that there are none of your *own subjects* who *wish* you better success, in *all your undertakings*, than *these two princes*; but it is also true that you cannot *count* upon any, except *these two friends, in all England!*" (Jan. 28, 1677.)

and was early in the field. He laid siege to Condé in April, and took it by storm. Bouchain soon after fell into his hands; the prince of Orange, who was ill supported by his allies, not daring to attempt its relief, on account of the advantageous position of the French army. After facing each other for some time, the two armies withdrew to a greater distance, as if by mutual consent. The king of France, with his usual avidity for praise, and want of perseverance, returned to Versailles; while the prince of Orange laid siege to Maestricht. Many desperate assaults were made, and several outworks taken; but all without effect. The place made a gallant defence; sickness broke out in the confederate army; and on the approach of the marechal Schomberg, who had reduced Aire, the prince was obliged to abandon his enterprise⁴⁷. The taking of Philipsburg, by the Imperialists, was the only success that attended the arms of the allies during the campaign.

France was no less successful by sea than by land. Louis had very early discovered an ambition of forming a powerful navy: and during the war between England and Holland, in which he was engaged, his subjects had acquired in perfection the art of ship-building, as well as the most approved method of conducting sea-engagements, by means of signals, said to have been invented by the duke of York. An accidental circumstance now afforded him an opportunity of displaying his naval strength, to the astonishment and terror of Europe.

Messina in Sicily had revolted from Spain; and a French fleet, under the duke de Vivonne, was sent to support the citizens in their rebellion. A Dutch and Spanish squadron sailed to oppose Vivonne; but, after an obstinate combat, Messina was relieved by the French. Another engagement ensued near Augusta, rendered famous by the death of the gallant de Ruyter, and in which the

47 *Temple's Memoirs*, part ii.

French had also the advantage. A third battle, more decisive than either of the former, was fought off Palermo. The combined fleet (to the number of twenty-seven ships of the line, nineteen galleys, and four fire-ships) was drawn up in a line without the mole, and under cover of the fortifications. The disposition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet Vivonne, or rather du Quesne, who commanded under him, and was a great naval officer, did not hesitate to venture an attack with a squadron inferior in strength. The battle was sustained with great vigour on both sides; until the French, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sent some fire-ships among the enemy. All was now confusion and terror. Twelve capital ships were sunk, burned, or taken; four thousand men lost their lives; and the French, riding undisputed masters of the Mediterranean, endangered the total revolt of Naples and Sicily⁴⁸.

A congress had been opened at Nimeguen in the beginning of the year; but no progress, it was found, could be made in negotiation, till the war had taken a more decisive turn. The disappointment of the allies, in the events of the campaign, had now much damped their sanguine hopes; and the Hollanders, on whom the chief weight of the war lay, seeing no prospect of a general pacification, began to entertain thoughts of concluding a separate treaty with France. They were loaded with debts and harassed with taxes; their commerce languished; and, exclusive of the disadvantages attending all leagues, the weakness of the Spaniards, and the divisions and delays of the Germans, prognosticated nothing but disgrace and ruin. They themselves had no motive for continuing the war, beside a desire of securing a good frontier to Flanders; yet gratitude to their allies inclined them to try whether another campaign might not produce

48 Le Clerc, vol. ii.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xiii.

a peace that would give general satisfaction. The prince of Orange, actuated by ambition and animosity against France, endeavoured to animate them to a steady perseverance in their honourable resolution.

In the mean time the eyes of all parties were turned toward England. Charles was universally allowed to be the arbiter of Europe; and terms of peace prescribed by him would not have been refused by any of the contending powers. The Spaniards believed that he would never suffer Flanders to be subdued by France; or that the parliament, if he could be so far lost to his own interest, would force him to take part with the confederates⁴⁹.
Feb. 15, 1677.

That body was at last assembled, in order to appease the murmurs of the people, after a recess of above fourteen months. Disputes about their own rights engaged the peers for a time; and the commons proceeded with temper, in taking into consideration the state of the navy, which the king had recommended to their attention. Every thing seemed to promise a peaceable and easy session. But the rapid and unexpected progress of the French arms soon disturbed this tranquillity, and directed to other subjects the deliberations of both houses.

Louis, having previously formed large magazines in Flanders, re-commenced hostilities before the usual time, and undertook the siege of Valenciennes. By the judicious advice of Vauban, who recommended an assault in the morning, when it would be least expected,
March 17, N. S.

the place was carried by surprise. Cambray surrendered after a short siege; and St. Omer was closely invested, when the prince of Orange, with an army hastily assembled, marched to its relief. The siege was covered by the dukes of Orléans and Luxemburg: and as the

prince was determined to endeavour to raise it,
April 11, N. S. a fierce engagement took place at Mont-Cassel; where, by a superior movement of Luxemburg, Wil-

⁴⁹ *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. i.

liam was defeated, in spite of his most strenuous efforts, and obliged to retire to Ypres. His behaviour was gallant, and his retreat masterly; but St. Omer submitted to the arms of France⁵⁰.

Justly alarmed at such extraordinary success, the English parliament presented an address to the king, representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the greatness of France, and praying that he would form such alliances as should both secure his own dominions and the Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The king returned an evasive answer, and the commons thought it necessary to be more particular. They entreated him to interpose immediately in favour of the confederates; and, if war with France should be the consequence of such interference, they promised to support him with all necessary aids and supplies. Charles, in his answer, artfully expressed his desire of being *first* put in a *condition* to *accomplish* the *design* of their *address*. This was understood as a demand for money; but the commons were too well acquainted with the king's connexions with France, to hazard their money in expectation of alliances which they believed would never be formed, if the supplies were granted beforehand. Instead of a supply, they therefore voted an address, in which "they besought his majesty to enter into a league, *offensive and defensive*, with the states-general of the "United Provinces, against the growth and power of the "French king, and for the preservation of the Spanish "Netherlands; and to make such other alliances with the "confederates as should appear fit and useful for that "end⁵¹." They supported their advice with arguments, and concluded with assuring the king, that when he

⁵⁰ *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. ii.—In attempting to rally his dispersed troops, the prince struck one of the fugitives across the face with his sword. "Rascal!"—gried he, "I will set a mark on you at present, that I may hang you afterward." Id. *ibid*.

⁵¹ *Journals* for 1677.

should be pleased to declare such an alliance in parliament, they would most cheerfully support his measures with plentiful and speedy supplies. Pretending resentment at this address, as an encroachment on his prerogative, Charles made an angry speech to the commons, and ordered the parliament to be adjourned.

Had the king, my dear Philip, been prompted to this measure (as an author, by no means prejudiced against him, justly observes) by a real jealousy of his prerogative, it might merit some applause, as an indication of vigour; but when we are made acquainted with the motives that produced it, when we know that it proceeded from his secret engagements with France, and his disappointment in not obtaining a large sum which he might dissipate upon his pleasures, it furnishes a new instance of that want of sincerity which disgraced his character⁵². When he thus urged the commons to strengthen his hands for war, he had actually sold his neutrality to France, as I have already had occasion to notice; and had he obtained the supply required for that end, he would, no doubt, have found expedients to screen his conduct, without entering into war, or even breaking off his private correspondence with Louis. But to make a *close alliance* with the *confederates* the *condition* of a *supply*, he foresaw, would deprive him of the *secret subsidy*, and throw him upon the mercy of his commons, whose confidence he had deservedly lost, and whose spirit he was desirous of subduing. Considering *his views* and *engagements*, he acted with prudence; but both were unworthy of a king of England.

While Charles, lolling in the lap of pleasure, or wasting his time in thoughtless jollity, was thus ingloriously sacrificing the honour of his kingdom and the interests of Europe, in consideration of a contemptible pension from a prince to whom he might have given law, the eyes of his subjects were anxiously turned toward the political situ-

52 Macpherson's *Hist. of Brit.* chap. i.

ation of the contending powers, and the events of the campaign. In Spain, domestic faction had been added to the other misfortunes of a kingdom long declining, through the weakness of her councils, and the general corruption of her people. Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV., had taken arms against the queen-regent, and advanced toward Madrid; and although, disappointed in his expectations of support, he returned to Saragossa, fortune soon after favoured his ambition. The young king, escaping from his mother, ordered her to be shut up in a convent at Toledo, and declared Don John prime minister. But the hopes entertained of his abilities were not answered by the event. The misfortunes of Spain increased on every side. In Catalonia, Monterey was defeated; Bracamonte lost the battle of Taormina in Sicily: and Flanders was in a manner laid open to absolute conquest. The prince of Orange, to atone for his late defeat, sat down before Charleroy; but on the appearance of the French army, under the duke of Luxemburg, he was forced to raise the siege. William, though he possessed considerable talents for war, was inferior to this experienced general; and seems always to have wanted that happy combination of genius and skill which is necessary to form the great commander.

On the Upper Rhine, Charles duke of Lorraine, who had succeeded his uncle rather in the title than in the territory of that duchy, commanded a body of the allies. The prince of Saxe-Eisenach, at the head of another army, endeavoured to enter Alsace. But Crequi, with an inferior force, defeated the views of the duke of Lorraine, though an able officer. He obliged him to retire from Mentz; he hindered him from crossing the Maes; he beat up his posts, he cut off his convoys; and having gained an advantage over the allies, near Cokersburg, he closed the campaign on that side with the taking of Freyburg. The baron de Montelar, who defended Alsace, was no less successful. After various movements, he en-

closed the troops of the prince of Saxe-Eisenach within his own, and forced them to capitulate near Strasburg⁵³. The Swedish allies of the French were not inactive in this campaign; but they could not prevent the loss of the important fortress of Stetin.

During the rapid progress of the French arms in Flanders, serious negotiations had been carried on between Louis and the Dutch, and a treaty was concluded, depending on the concurrence of their respective allies. The misfortunes of the confederates, and the supine indifference of England, seemed to render peace necessary to them. But had they been sufficiently acquainted with the state of France, they would have had less reason to dread the continuance of the war. Though victorious in the field, she was nearly exhausted at home. The successes which had rendered her the terror of her neighbours, had already deprived her, for a time, of the power of hurting them. But the ignorance of mankind continued their fears: the apprehensions of Europe remained: and Louis derived more glory from his imaginary than from his real force.

These apprehensions were very great in England. In parliament they were made subservient to the purposes of ambition and faction, as well as of patriotism; and they awakened dangerous discontents among the people. Murmurs were heard from all ranks of men. Willing to put an end to dissatisfactions that disturbed his repose, Charles made a new attempt to gain the confidence of his people. His brother's bigoted attachment to popery, and his own unhappy connexions with France, he was sensible, had chiefly occasioned the loss of his popularity. To afford the prospect of a Protestant succession to the throne, and procure a general peace to Europe, could not fail, he thought, of quieting the minds of his subjects. He accordingly encouraged proposals of marriage from the prince of Orange to his brother's eldest daughter, who was the pre-

53 Pelisson, tome iii.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xii.

sumptive heiress of the crown, the duke having then no male issue, and the king no legitimate offspring. By so attractive a match, he hoped to engage the prince entirely in his interests, and to sanctify with William's approbation such a peace as would satisfy France, and tend to perpetuate his own connexions with Louis.

William came over to England at the close of the campaign; and whatever might be his motives for such a conduct, he acted a part highly deserving of applause, whether we examine it by the rules of prudence or delicacy. He refused to enter upon business before he had been introduced to the lady Mary; declaring that, as he placed great part of his happiness in domestic satisfaction, no consideration of interest or policy could ever induce him to marry a person who was not highly agreeable to him. Mary, whom he found in the bloom of youth, and very amiable both in mind and person, seemed even to exceed his hopes; and he refused to concert any measures for the general peace, until his marriage should be concluded. His allies, who, as affairs were circumstanced, were likely to have hard terms, would otherwise, he said, be apt to suspect that he had made his match at their cost. "And I am determined," added he, "it shall never be said, that I sold my honour for a wife⁵⁴!" Charles, who affected to smile at these punctilios, persisted in his resolution of making the peace precede the marriage; but finding the prince inflexible, he at last consented to the nuptials, which were celebrated at the palace of St. James, to the^{Nov. 4.} inexpressible joy of the nation.

This matrimonial alliance gave great alarm to the king of France. A junction of England with the confederates, he concluded, would be the immediate consequence of so important a step, taken not only without his consent, but without his knowledge or participation. Charles, however, endeavoured to quiet his apprehensions, by pro-

missing to prorogue the parliament from December to April; a term late for granting supplies, or forming war-like preparations⁵⁵. In the mean time the king, the prince of Orange, the lord-treasurer Danby, and sir William Temple, held consultations relative to a general peace; and the earl of Feversham was dispatched to France with conditions sufficiently favourable to the allies, and yet not dishonourable to Louis.

Two days only were allowed to the French monarch for the acceptance or refusal of the peace, and the English ambassador had no power to negotiate. But he was prevailed on to stay some days longer, and returned at last without any positive answer. "My ambassador at London," said Louis, "shall have full powers to finish the treaty to the satisfaction of the king. And I hope my brother will not break with me for one or two towns." The French ambassador declared, that he had leave to yield all the towns required, except Tournay; and even to treat of some equivalent for that, if the king thought fit. Charles was softened by the moderation of Louis. The prince of Orange, who had given vigour to the English counsels, was gone; and delay succeeded delay in the negotiations, until the French monarch, having taken the field
A. D. 1678. early, made himself master of Ghent and Ypres, after having threatened Mons and Namur⁵⁶.

These conquests filled the Dutch with terror, and the English with indignation. But Louis managed matters so artfully, that neither of the nations proved a bar in the way of his ambition. Through his intrigues with the remains of the Louvestein party in Holland, he increased the general desire of peace, by awakening a jealousy of the designs of the prince of Orange on account of the eagerness for continuing the war. In England, he not only maintained his connexions with Charles, but gained to his interest some of

⁵⁵ *Dalrymple's Append.*—He did not, however, adhere to this stipulation.

⁵⁶ *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii.—*Voltaire, Siècle*, chap. xii.

the popular members in both houses of parliament, who were less afraid of the conquest of Flanders than of trusting the king with an army to defend it. So great, however, was the ardour of the people of England for war, that both the king and parliament were obliged to give way to it. An army of twenty thousand men, to the astonishment of Europe, was completed in a few weeks; and part of it was sent over, under the duke of Monmouth, to secure Ostend. Meanwhile Charles, in consideration of the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, secretly engaged to disband his army, and to permit Louis to make his own terms with the confederates; and the commons also, swayed by French influence, but ignorant of the king's engagements, voted for the same dismissal⁵⁷. Baseness so complicated, in men of the most exalted stations, makes us almost hate human nature; and the generous mind, in contemplating such a motley groupe, without regard to imposing names, beholds with equal indignation the pensioned king and the hireling patriot⁵⁸.

Having nothing now to dread from the only two powers that could set bounds to his empire, Louis assumed the style of a conqueror; and, instead of yielding to the terms offered by Charles, he himself dictated the articles of a peace, which, by placing the barrier-towns of Flanders in his hands, left that country open to his future inroads.

57 *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii.—*Dalrymple's Appendix*.

58 That some of the popular members in each house received money from the court of France, is a truth too notorious to be denied, though painful to relate. And to say that they only supported those measures which they believed to be for the good of their country, is but a poor apology for their venality. A senator who can be prevailed on to accept a bribe, it is to be feared, will readily persuade himself of the rectitude of any measure for the support of which that bribe is offered. Of this lord Russel seems to have been fully convinced; for, although willing to co-operate with France, in order to prevent Charles from becoming absolute (as soon as he was informed that Louis began to discover that such a change in the English government would be against his interest), he was startled when told by Barillon, that he had "a considerable sum to distribute in parliament to obstruct the vote of supply."—"I should be sorry," said he, "to have any communication with men who can be gained by money."—*Dalrymple's Append.*

This imperious proceeding, and other aggravating circumstances, occasioned great murmurs in England, and the king seemed at length disposed to enter heartily into the war. But the confederates had been too often deceived, to trust any longer to the fluctuating counsels of Charles. Negotiations for a general peace advanced toward a conclusion at Nimeguen; and as the emperor and Spain, though least able to continue the war, seemed resolved to stand out, Van Beverning, the Dutch ambassador, more prudently than honourably signed a separate treaty with France⁵⁹. This agreement, which occasioned much clamour among the confederates, was ratified by the states; and the other powers were at last obliged to accept the terms prescribed by the French monarch.

The principal of these terms were, that Louis, beside Franche Comté, which he had twice conquered, should retain Cambray, Aire, St. Omer, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchain, Cassel, Charlemont, and other places; that he should restore Maestricht to the states; that the Spaniards should again be masters of Charleroy, Oudenarde, Aeth, Ghent, and Limbourg; that the emperor should give up Freyburg to France, and keep possession of Philipsburg; that the elector of Brandenburg should restore to Sweden his conquests in Pomerania, and that the treaty of Westphalia should remain in full force over Germany and the North⁶⁰. The duke of Lorrain was the only prince who refused to be included in the peace of Nimeguen; he chose rather to act as a soldier of fortune, and to command the imperial armies, than to accept his dominions on the conditions proposed by Louis.

The prince of Orange was so much enraged at this peace, that he took a very unwarrantable step to break it. He attacked the quarters of the duke of Luxemburg at St. Denis near Mons, after the treaty was signed, and when

⁵⁹ *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii.

⁶⁰ Henault.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xii.

the duke reposed on the faith of it, in hopes of cutting off the whole French army⁶¹. But he gained no decided advantage; and this bold violation of the laws of humanity, if not of those of nations, was attended with no other consequence than the loss of many lives on both sides.

The king of England also, disgusted with Louis, and ashamed of having been so long the tool of a monarch to whose ambition he might have given law, endeavoured to persuade the states to decline a ratification of the peace. But the Dutch had made too good terms for themselves to think of immediately renewing the war; and Charles, though the stipulated bribe for his ignominious neutrality was denied to him, soon returned to his former connexions with France⁶².

Thus, my dear Philip, was Louis exalted above every other European potentate. He had greatly extended his dominions in defiance of a powerful confederacy, and had secured very important conquests by treaty. His ministers, in negotiating, had appeared as much superior to those of other nations, as his generals in the field. He had given law to Spain, Holland, and the empire: his arms had humbled his most formidable neighbours, and his ambition threatened the independence of all. Before I trace the farther progress of that ambition, it will be proper to carry forward the domestic history of Great Britain.

⁶¹ Voltaire, *ubi sup.*—Burnet, book iii.

⁶² *Dalrymple's Append.*

LETTER XIV.

History of England, from the Popish Plot, in 1678, to the Death of Charles II. with a retrospective View of the Affairs of Scotland.

NOTWITHSTANDING the seeming eagerness of Charles II. for war, toward the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen, he was never believed to be sincere. So utterly had he lost the confidence of his people, that his best measures were supposed to proceed from bad motives: the more popular any measure appeared, the more it was suspected of some dangerous purpose. A general dread of popery and arbitrary power prevailed; dark surmises were propagated; and the king and the duke of York, in conjunction with France, were justly considered as the great enemies of the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

These apprehensions, inflamed by the violence of faction, and turned upon a particular object by the forgeries of artful men, gave birth to the famous imposture called the POPISH PLOT; the most extraordinary instance of phrensy and delusion that ever distracted an unhappy people. As that mysterious business had some connexion with the affairs of Scotland, I will now treat of the miserable state of that realm.

Soon after the suppression of the insurrection, in 1666, and the severe punishment of the fanatical insurgents, the king was advised to try milder methods for bringing the people over to episcopacy. With this view, he entrusted the government to the earl of Tweeddale and sir Robert Murray, men of prudence and moderation. In order to compose the religious differences, which still ran high, these ministers adopted a scheme of *comprehension*; by which it was proposed to diminish the

authority of the bishops, to abolish their negative voice in the ecclesiastical courts, and to leave them little more than the right of precedency among the presbyters¹. But this scheme alarmed the jealousy of the zealous teachers of those times. They chose rather to deliver their wild harangues, at the hazard of their lives, to conventicles in woods and mountains, than have any communication with antichristian institutions, which they esteemed dangerous and criminal. "Touch not! taste not! handle not!" was their common cry: and the king's ministers, perceiving that advances to such men could only serve to debase the dignity of government, by being contemptuously rejected, gave up the project of *comprehension*, and adopted that of *indulgence*. A. D. 1668.

In the prosecution of this new scheme, they proceeded with great temper and judgement. Some of the most enlightened of the presbyterian teachers were settled in vacant churches, without being obliged to conform to the established religion; and salaries of twenty pounds a year were offered to the rest, till they should be otherwise provided for, on condition that they behaved themselves with decency and moderation. This offer was rejected, as the king's bribe for silence; and those teachers who were settled in the vacant churches soon found their popularity decline, when they delivered only the simple doctrines of Christianity. By ceasing to rail against the church and state, called *preaching to the times*, they obtained the appellation of *dumb dogs*, who were supposed to be afraid to bark. The churches were again deserted, for the more vehement and inflammatory discourses of the field: preachers and conventicles multiplied daily in the West: where the people, as formerly, came armed to their places of worship. A. D. 1669.

When this fanaticism was at its height, Lauderdale was appointed high commissioner to the Scottish parliament.

1 Burnet, vol. i.

The zealous presbyterians, the chief assertors of liberty, were unable to oppose with effect the measures of the court; so that the tide ran strongly toward monarchy, if not despotism. By one act it was declared, that the right of governing the church was inherent in the king; and, by another, the number of the militia (established by the undue influence of the crown about two years before) was settled at twenty-two thousand men; who were to be constantly armed, regularly disciplined, and ready to march to any part of his majesty's dominions, where their service might be required, for the support of his authority, power, or greatness². Thus was Charles invested with absolute sway in Scotland, and even furnished with the means of becoming formidable to his English subjects, whose liberties he wished to subdue.

A severe act against conventicles followed these arbitrary laws, on which Lauderdale highly valued
 A. D. 1670. himself, and which induced the king to make him sole minister for Scotland. Ruinous fines were imposed on the presbyterians, who met to worship in houses; and field-preachers and their hearers were to be punished with death. But laws that are too severe defeat their own end. The rigours exercised against conventicles in Scotland, instead of breaking the spirit of the fanatics, served only to render them more obstinate, to increase the fervour of their zeal, to bind them more closely together, and to inflame them against the established religion. The commonalty of the Low-lands, particularly in the western counties, frequented conventicles without reserve; and although the gentry seldom visited those illegal places of worship, they took no measures to repress that irregularity in their inferiors, whose liberty they seemed to envy. In order to prevent this connivance, a bond or contract was tendered to the landlords in the West,
 A. D. 1678. by which they were to engage for the good beha-

² Burnet, ubi sup.

viour of their tenants; and, if any tenant should frequent a conventicle, the landlord was to subject himself to the same fine that could by law be exacted from the offender³.

But it was ridiculous to give sanction to laws by voluntary contracts; it was iniquitous to make one man answerable for the conduct of another; and it was illegal to impose such hard conditions upon men who had no way offended⁴. For these reasons the greater part of the gentry refused to sign the bonds required; and Lauderdale, enraged at such firmness, endeavoured to break their spirit by an expedient truly tyrannical. Because the western counties abounded in conventicles, though otherwise in a state of profound peace, he pretended that they were in a state of actual rebellion. He therefore made an agreement with some Highland chiefs to call out their followers, to the number of eight thousand; who, in conjunction with the guards, and the militia of Angus, were sent to live at free quarter upon the lands of such gentlemen as had rejected the bonds.

As the western counties were the most populous and the most industrious in Scotland, and the Highlanders the men least civilised, it is more easy to imagine than to describe the havoc that ensued. Troops of barbarians, trained up in rapine and violence, unaccustomed to discipline, and averse from the restraints of law, were let loose among a set of people, whom they were taught to regard as the enemies of their prince and their religion. Nothing escaped their ravenous hands: no distinction of age, sex, or innocence, afforded protection. And lest the cry of an oppressed people should reach the throne, the council forbade, under severe penalties, all noblemen and gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom⁵.

Notwithstanding this arbitrary edict, the duke of Hamilton, with ten other noblemen, and about fifty gentlemen of distinction, went to London, and laid their complaints before the king. Charles seemed to be shocked at their narrative; but he took no effectual means to remedy

³ Burnet, vol. ii.

⁴ Hume, vol. viii.

⁵ Burnet, vol. ii.

the grievances of which they complained. "According to your representation," said he, "Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things in the government of Scotland; but I cannot find that he has, in any thing, acted contrary to my interest." What must the interests of a king be, when they are unconnected with the welfare of his people!

Meanwhile Lauderdale ordered home the Highlanders; and taking advantage of the absence of the dissatisfied noblemen and gentlemen, he summoned a convention of estates at Edinburgh. And this assembly, to the eternal disgrace of the nation, sent up an address to the king, approving Lauderdale's government. But as the means by which that address was procured were well known, it served only to render both the king and his minister more odious in Scotland, and to spread general alarm in England; where it was justly concluded, that as, in the neighbouring kingdom, the very voice of liberty was suppressed, and grievances were so riveted, that it was dangerous even to mention them, every thing was to be feared from the arbitrary disposition of Charles. If, by a Protestant church, persecution could be carried to such extremes, what, it was asked, might not be dreaded from the violence of popery, with which the kingdom was threatened?—and what from the full establishment of absolute power, if its approaches were so tyrannical?—Such were the reasonings of men, and such their apprehensions in England, when the rumour of a popish plot threw the whole nation into a panic.

The chief actor in this horrid imposture, which occasioned the loss of much innocent blood, was an indigent adventurer, named Titus Oates, one of the most profligate of mankind. Being bred to the church, he obtained a small living, which he was obliged to abandon on account of a prosecution for perjury. He was afterward chaplain to a man of war, but was dismissed for an unnatural crime⁶.

In his necessity, he came to London, the former scene of his debaucheries, where he became acquainted with Dr. Tonge, a city divine, who for some time fed and clothed him. Tonge was a man of a credulous temper, and of an intriguing disposition. To spread scandal was his chief amusement, and to propagate the rumour of plots his highest delight. By his advice, Oates agreed to reconcile himself to the Romish communion, in order to discover the designs of the Catholics connected with the English court; to go beyond sea, and to enter into the society of the Jesuits. He now visited different parts of France and Spain, and resided some time in a seminary of Jesuits at St. Omers; but was at last dismissed on account of bad behaviour, by that politic body, who never seem to have trusted him with any of their secrets⁷.

Oates, setting his wicked imagination at work to supply the want of materials, returned to England burning with resentment against the Jesuits, and with a full resolution of framing the story of a popish plot. This he accomplished in conjunction with his patron Tonge; and one Kirby, a chemist, was employed to communicate the intelligence to the king. Charles desired to see the divine, who delivered into his hands a narrative, consisting of forty-three articles, of a conspiracy to murder his majesty, subvert the government, and re-establish the Catholic faith in England. The king, having hastily glanced over the paper, ordered him to carry it to the lord-treasurer Danby, who treated the information more seriously than it seemed to deserve. Yet the plot, after all, might have sunk into oblivion, on account of the king's disregard to a tale accompanied with such improbable circumstances, had it not been for an artful contrivance of the impostors, that gave to the whole a degree of importance of which it was unworthy.

Tonge, who was continually plying the king with fresh information, acquainted the lord-treasurer, by letter, that

⁷ Burnet, *ubi sup.*—See also *Danby's Mem.* Echard, Kennet, and James II.

a packet concerning the plot, written by Jesuits, and directed to Bedingfield, confessor to the duke of York, would soon be delivered. Danby, who was then in Oxfordshire, hastened to court; but, before his arrival, Bedingfield had carried the letters to the duke, protesting that he did not know what they meant, and that they were not the hand-writing of the persons whose names they bore. The duke carried them to the king; who was confirmed, by this incident, in his suspicion of an imposture, and was inclined to treat it with contempt. But the duke, anxious to clear his confessor and the followers of his religion from such a horrid accusation, insisted on a full inquiry into the pretended conspiracy before the council. Kirby, Tonge, and Oates, were brought before that assembly; and although the narrative of Titus was improbable, confused, and contradictory, the plot made a great noise, and obtained such general credit, that it was considered as a crime to disbelieve it.

The evidence of Oates imported, that he had been privy, both at home and abroad, to many consultations among the Jesuits for the assassination of Charles, who, they said, had deceived them; that Grove and Pickering, the one an ordained Jesuit, the other a lay brother, were at first appointed to shoot the king, but that it was afterward resolved to take him off by poison, by bribing sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and a papist; that many Jesuits had gone into Scotland, in disguise, to distract the government of that kingdom, by preaching sedition in the field conventicles; that he himself had assisted at a consultation of Jesuits in London, where it was resolved to dispatch the king, by the dagger, by shooting, or by poison; and that, when he was busy in collecting evidence for a full discovery, he was suspected, and obliged to separate himself from them, in order to save his own life⁸.

⁸ Burnet, &c. ubi sup.—See also Oates' *Narrative*.

The letters sent to Bedingfield were produced in support of this evidence: and although they bore as evident marks of forgery as the narrative of imposture, the council issued orders for seising such accused persons as were then in London. Sir George Wakeman was accordingly apprehended, with Coleman, late secretary to the duchess of York, Langhorne, an eminent barrister, and eight Jesuits. These steps of the council still farther alarmed the nation: the metropolis was a scene of clamour; and apprehension and terror every where prevailing, the most absurd fictions were received as certain facts⁹.

But this ferment would probably have subsided, and time might have opened the eyes of the public so as to discern the imposture, if some collateral circumstances had not put the reality of a popish plot beyond dispute, in the opinion of the generality of the people. An order had been given, by the lord-treasurer, to seize Coleman's papers. Among these were found some copies of letters to father la Chaise, the French king's confessor, to the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and to other Catholics abroad; and as Coleman was a weak man, and a wild enthusiast in the Romish faith, he had insinuated many extraordinary things to his correspondents, in a mysterious language, concerning the conversion of the three British kingdoms, and the total ruin of the Protestant religion, which he termed pestilent heresy. He founded his hopes on the zeal of the duke of York, and spoke in obscure terms of aid from abroad, for the accomplishment of what he denominated a *glorious work*¹⁰.

These indefinite expressions, in the present state of men's minds, were believed to point distinctly at all the crimes mentioned in the narrative of Oates; and as Coleman's letters for the last two years, which were supposed to contain the development of the whole plot, had been conveyed out of the way before the others were seised,

⁹ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁰ Coleman's Letters.

full play was left for imagination. Another incident completed the general delusion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation incurable. This was the murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey, an active justice of the peace, who had taken the deposition of Oates relative to his first narrative. He was found dead in a ditch near Primrose Hill, with his sword thrust through his body, his money in his pocket, and the rings on his fingers. From these last circumstances it was inferred, that his death had not been the act of robbers: it was therefore ascribed to the resentment of the Catholics; though it appears, that he had always lived on a good footing with that sect, and was even intimate with Coleman at the time that he took the evidence of Oates¹¹.

All possible advantage, however, was taken of this incident, in order to inflame the popular phrensy. The dead body of Godfrey was exposed to view for two days: the people flocked around it; and every one was roused to a degree of rage approaching madness, as well by the mutual contagion of sentiments, as by the moving spectacle. His funeral was celebrated with great pomp and parade: the corpse was conducted through the chief streets of the city; seventy-two clergymen walked before, and above a thousand persons of distinction concluded the procession¹².

To deny the reality of the plot, was now to be reputed an accomplice; to hesitate, was criminal. All parties concurred in the delusion, except the unfortunate Catholics; who, though conscious of their own innocence, began to be afraid of a massacre similar to that of which they were accused. But their terror did not diminish that of others. Invasions from abroad, insurrections at home, conflagrations, and even poisonings, were apprehended. Men looked with wild anxiety at each other, as if every interview had been the last. The business of life seemed to be at a stand; panic and confusion spread from the capital over

11 Burnet, vol. ii.

12 North's Examen, p. 204.

the whole kingdom; and reason, to use the words of a philosophical historian, could no more be heard, in the present agitation of the human mind, than a whisper in the midst of the most violent hurricane.

During this national ferment the parliament assembled; and the earl of Danby, who hated the Catholics, who courted popularity, and perhaps hoped that the king would be more cordially beloved by the nation if his life was supposed to be in danger from the Jesuits, opened the story of the plot in the house of peers. Charles, who wished to keep the whole matter from the parliament, was extremely displeased with this temerity, and said to his minister, "You will find, though you do not believe it, that you have given the parliament a handle to ruin yourself, as well as to disturb all my affairs: and you will certainly live to repent it!" Danby had afterward sufficient reason to revere the sagacity of his master.

The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from the upper to the lower house. The authority of parliament gave sanction to that fury with which the people were already animated. The commons voted an address for a solemn fast, and a form of prayer was framed for that occasion. Oates was brought before them; and finding that even the semblance of truth was no longer necessary to gain credit to his fictions, he made a bolder publication of his narrative at the bar of the house, adding some new and extraordinary circumstances. The most remarkable of these were, that the pope, having resumed the sovereignty of England, on account of the heresy of the prince and people, had thought proper to delegate the supreme power to the society of Jesuits; and that d'Oliva, general of that order, in consequence of the papal grant, had supplied the principal offices, both civil and military, with Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, many of whom he named. On this ridiculous evidence, the earl of Powis, the lords Stafford, Arundel, Petre, and Bellasis, were

committed to the Tower, and soon after impeached for high treason: and both houses voted, without one dissenting voice, "that there had been, and still was, a *damnable* and *hellish plot*, contrived and carried on by papists, "for murdering the king, subverting the government, "and destroying the Protestant religion¹³."

Encouraged by this declaration, new informers appeared. Coleman and other Catholics were brought to trial, whose only guilt appeared to be that of their religion. But they were already condemned by the voice of the nation. The witnesses in their favour were in danger of being torn in pieces; and the jury, and even the judges, discovered strong symptoms of prejudice against them. Little justice could be expected from such a tribunal. The unhappy men died with firmness, and protested their innocence to the last¹⁴; yet these solemn testimonies, after all hopes of life had failed, could not awaken compassion for their fate. They were executed amidst the shouts of the deluded populace, who seemed to enjoy their sufferings.

From the supposed conspirators in the popish plot, the parliament turned its views to higher objects. A bill was introduced for a new Test, in which *popery* was denominated *idolatry*; and all the members who refused this test, were to be excluded from both houses. The bill passed the lower house, without opposition, and was sent to the other assembly. The duke of York requested the peers to admit an exception in his favour; and with great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes, he said, he was now to throw himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern he could have in this world. He dwelt on his duty to the king, and his zeal for the prosperity of the nation; and he protested, that, whatever his religion might be, it should be only a *private thing* between God and his own soul,

¹³ Journals, October 31, 1678.

¹⁴ Burnet, vol. ii.

and never should influence his public conduct. This exception being agreed to, the bill was returned to the commons; and, contrary to all expectation, the amendment was carried by a majority of two votes¹⁵.

The rage against popery, however, continued; and was in nothing more remarkable than in the encouragement given by the parliament to informers. Oates, who was unquestionably an infamous scoundrel, was recommended by the two houses to the king. He was rewarded with a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year; guards were appointed for his protection; men of the first rank courted his company; and he was called the saviour of the nation. The employment of an informer became honourable; and, beside those wretches who appeared in support of the evidence of the profligate Titus, a man high in office assumed that character.

Montague, the English ambassador at the court of France, disappointed in his expectation of being made secretary of state, returned without leave, and took his seat in the lower house. He had been deeply concerned in the pecuniary negotiations between Charles and Louis. On the late disagreement of these two princes, he had been gained by the latter; and now, on the failure of his hopes of preferment from the court of England, he engaged, for one hundred thousand crowns, to disgrace the king, and to ruin his minister, who was become peculiarly obnoxious to France¹⁶. Danby, having some intimation of this intrigue, ordered Montague's papers to be seized; but that experienced politician, prepared against the possibility of such a circumstance, had delivered into sure hands the papers that could most effectually serve his purpose. The violence of the minister afforded a kind of excuse for the perfidy of the ambassador. Two of Danby's letters were produced before the house of commons. One of these contained instructions to demand three

¹⁵ *Journals*, Nov. 22, 1678.

¹⁶ *Dalrymple's Append.* p. 193.

hundred thousand pounds a year, for three years, from the French monarch, provided his terms should be accepted at Nimeguen, in consequence of Charles's good offices; and, as Danby had foreseen the danger of this negotiation, the king, in order to remove his fears, had subjoined with his own hand, that the letter was written by his express orders¹⁷.

This circumstance rather inflamed than allayed the resentment of the commons, who naturally concluded, that the king had all along acted in concert with the French court, and that every step which he had taken, in conjunction with the allies, had been illusory and deceitful. It was immediately moved, that there was sufficient matter of impeachment against the lord-treasurer; and the question was carried by a considerable majority. Danby's friends were abashed, and his enemies were elated beyond measure with their triumph. The king himself was alarmed: his secret negotiations with France, before only suspected, were now ascertained. Many who wished to support the crown were ashamed of the meanness of the prince, and deserted their principles in order to save their reputation.

As Danby, upon the whole, had been a cautious minister, most of the charges adduced against him were either frivolous or ill-founded. When the impeachment was read in the house of peers, he rose and spoke to every article. He showed that Montague had himself promoted with ardour the money negotiations with Louis. He cleared himself from the aspersion of alienating the king's revenue to improper purposes: and he insisted particularly on his known disinclination to the interests of France; declaring, that, whatever compliances he might have made, he had always esteemed a connexion with the sovereign of that realm pernicious to his master and destructive to his country¹⁸. The lords immediately discussed the question; and the

¹⁷ *Journals*, Dec. 14, 1678.— See also *Danby's Papers*.

¹⁸ *Journals of the Lords*, Dec. 25, 1678.

majority were against the commitment of Danby. The commons, however, insisted that he should be sequestered from parliament and committed. A violent contest was likely to ensue; and the king, who thought himself bound to support his minister, and saw no hopes of ending ^{Jan. 25,} the dispute by gentle means, first prorogued, and ^{1679.} afterward dissolved the parliament.

This was a desperate remedy in the present critical state of the nation, and it did not answer the end proposed. It afforded but a temporary relief, if it may not be said to have increased the disease. The new parliament, which the king was under the necessity of assembling, consisted chiefly of the most violent of the former members, reinforced by others of the same principles. The court had exerted its influence in vain: the elections were made with all the prejudices of the times. The king's connexions with France had alienated the affections of his subjects; but the avowed popery of the duke of York was a still more dangerous subject of jealousy and discontent. Sensible that this was the fatal source of the greater part of the misfortunes of his reign, and foreseeing the troubles that were likely to be occasioned by the violent spirit of the new representatives, Charles conjured his brother to conform to the established church. He even sent the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester to persuade him, if possible, to become again a Protestant; and, finding all their arguments lost on his obstinacy, he desired him to withdraw beyond sea, in order to appease the people, and to satisfy the parliament that popish counsels no longer prevailed at court. This proposal the duke also declined, as he apprehended that his retiring would be construed into an acknowledgement of guilt; but when the king insisted on his departure, as a step necessary for the welfare of both, he obeyed, after engaging Charles to make a public declaration of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth¹⁹.

James duke of Monmouth, natural son of Charles II. by Lucy Walters, possessed all the qualities that can engage the affections of the populace, with some of those which conciliate the favour of the more discerning part of mankind. To a gracefulness of person, which commanded respect, he joined the most winning affability: by nature tender, he was an enemy to cruelty; he was constant in his friendships, and just to his word. Active and vigorous in his constitution, he excelled in the manly exercises of the field. He was personally brave, and loved the pomp, and the very dangers of war; but he was vain even to a degree of folly, versatile in his measures, and weak in his understanding. This weakness rendered him a fit tool for the earl of Shaftesbury, the most able and unprincipled man of the age, and who had lately distinguished himself as much by his opposition to the court as formerly by the violence of his counsels in its favour. This bold politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of succeeding to the crown. A story had even been propagated of his legitimacy, in consequence of a secret contract of marriage between the king and his mother. This story was greedily received by the multitude: and on the removal of the duke of York from the kingdom, and the prospect of his being excluded from the succession by the jealousy of parliament, it was hoped that Monmouth would be declared prince of Wales. But Charles made a solemn declaration before the privy council, that he was never married to any woman but the queen; and on finding that Monmouth continued to encourage the belief of the lawfulness of his birth, the king renewed his protestation, and particularly pointed it against Lucy Walters^{co}.

The subsequent events of this reign, my dear Philip, furnish abundant matter for the memorialist; but, the struggle between the king and parliament excepted, they have little relation to the line of general history. I shall,

therefore, pass them over slightly, offering only the most important to your notice. One could wish that the greater part of them were erased from the English annals.

The new parliament, no way mollified by the dismissal of the duke of York, discovered all the violence that had been feared by the court. The commons revived the prosecution of the earl of Danby: they reminded the lords of his impeachment; and they demanded justice, in the name of the people of England. Charles, determined to save his minister, had already had the precaution to grant him a pardon. This he now avowed in the house of peers; declaring that he could not think Danby in any respect criminal, as he had acted in every thing by his orders. The lower house, paying no regard to this confession, immediately voted, that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the commons of England²¹. The lords seemed at first to adhere to the pardon, but yielded at last to the violence of the commons; and Danby, after absconding for a time, surrendered his person, and was committed to the Tower.

Charles, to soothe the commons, made a show of changing his measures. Some of the leaders of opposition were admitted into the privy council; particularly sir Henry Capel, lord Russel, the earl of Shaftesbury, and the viscounts Halifax and Fauconberg. The earl of Essex, a popular nobleman, was placed at the head of the treasury, in the room of the earl of Danby; and the earl of Sunderland, a man well qualified for such an office, was made secretary of state.

By thus placing the most violent patriots, either real or pretended, in his service, the king hoped to regain the

²¹ The prerogative of mercy had been hitherto understood to be altogether unlimited in the crown; so that this pretension of the commons was perfectly new. It was not, however, unsuitable to the genius of a monarchy strictly limited; where the king's ministers are supposed to be accountable to the national assembly, even for such abuses of power as they may commit by orders from their master.

affections of his parliament. But he was miserably disappointed. The commons received his declaration of a new council with the greatest indifference and coldness, believing the whole to be a trick in order to obtain money, or an artifice to induce the country party to drop the pursuit of grievances, by disarming with offices the violence of their leaders. They therefore continued their deliberations with unabated zeal; and declared by an unanimous vote, that the popish principles of the duke of York, and the hopes of his coming to the crown with such a creed, had given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the plots against the king and the Protestant religion²².

This being considered as an introductory step to the exclusion of the duke from the throne, Charles, in order to prevent such a bold measure, stated certain limitations, which, without altering the succession to the crown, he thought sufficient to secure the civil and religious liberties of the subject. These restrictions tended to deprive a popish successor of the right of bestowing ecclesiastical promotions, and of either appointing or displacing privy counsellors or judges, without the consent of parliament. The same precaution was extended to the military part of the government, to the lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties, and to all officers of the navy²³.

These concessions, which greatly diminished the power of the crown, were rejected with contempt by the commons. They brought in a bill for the total exclusion of the duke of York, and they continued their prosecution against Danby. They voted that the pardon which he claimed was illegal and void; and, after some conferences with the lords on the subject, a day was fixed for his trial. Preparations were also made for the trial of the imprisoned popish lords.

In the mean time a furious dispute arose between the two houses, occasioned by a resolution of the commons,

²² *Journals*, April 27, 1679.

²³ *Journ.* May 10.

that the spiritual lords ought not to vote in any of the proceedings against the lords in the Tower²⁴. This resolution involved a question of no small importance, and was of peculiar consequence in the present case. Though the bishops were anciently prohibited by the canon law, and afterward by established custom, from assisting at capital trials, they generally sat and voted in motions preparatory to such trials. The validity of Danby's pardon was first to be debated; and, although but a preliminary, was the hinge on which the whole must turn. The commons, therefore, insisted upon excluding the prelates, whom they knew to be devoted to the court: the peers were unwilling to make any alteration in the forms of their judicature: both houses adhered to their respective pretensions; and Charles took advantage of the quarrel, first to prorogue, and then to dissolve the parliament; setting aside, by that measure, the trial of his July 10. minister, and, for a time, the bill of exclusion against his brother²⁵.

Although this parliament, my dear Philip, degraded itself by violence and credulity, and though some of its members seem to have been actuated by a spirit of party and a strong antipathy to the royal family, while others were influenced by the money of France or the intrigues of the prince of Orange, the greater number were animated by a real spirit of patriotism, by an honest zeal for their civil and religious liberties. Of this the exclusion bill and the *Habeas Corpus* act are sufficient proofs. The latter, which particularly distinguishes the English constitution, can never be too much applauded.

The personal liberty of individuals is a property of human nature, which nothing but the certainty of a crime committed ought ever to abridge or restrain. The English nation had, accordingly, very early and repeatedly

²⁴ *Journals*, May 17.

²⁵ Danby and the popish lords, Stafford excepted, whose fate I shall have occasion to relate, after remaining in the Tower till 1684, were admitted to bail on petition.

secured by public acts this valuable part of their rights as men; yet something was still requisite to render personal freedom complete, and prevent evasion or delay from ministers and judges. The act of *Habeas Corpus* answered all these purposes, and does equal honour to the patriotism and the penetration of those who framed it and carried it into a law. This act prohibits the sending of any English subject to a prison beyond sea; and it provides, that no judge shall refuse to any prisoner a writ, by which the jailer is directed to produce in court the body of such prisoner, and to certify the cause of his commitment and detention.

The general rage against popery, and the success of the country party in the English parliament, raised the spirit of the Scottish covenanters, and gave new life to their hopes. Their conventicles, to which they went armed, became more frequent and numerous; and though they never acted offensively, they frequently repelled the troops sent to disperse them. But even this small degree of moderation could not long be preserved by a set of wild enthusiasts, who thought every thing lawful for the support of their godly cause; who were driven to madness by the oppressions of a tyrannical government, and flattered, by their friends in England, with the prospect of relief from their troubles. A barbarous violence increased the load of their calamities.

Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrews, was deservedly obnoxious to the covenanters. Having been deputed by the Scottish clergy at the Restoration, to manage their interests with the king, he had betrayed them. He soon after openly abandoned the presbyterian party; and when episcopacy was established in Scotland, his apostasy was rewarded with the dignity of primate. To him was chiefly entrusted the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs; and, in order to recommend himself to the court, he persecuted the covenanters, or non-conformists, with unrelenting rigour. It was impossible for human beings to suffer so many in-

juries without being stimulated against their author by the keenest emotions of indignation and revenge. A band of desperate fanatics, farther influenced by the hope of doing an acceptable service to Heaven, way-laid the archbishop in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews; and, after firing into his coach, dispatched him with many wounds²⁶.

This atrocious action furnished the ministry with a pretext for a more severe persecution of the covenanters, on whom, without distinction, they threw the guilt of the murder of Sharpe. The troops quartered in the western counties received orders to disperse, by force, all conventicles, wherever they should be found. This severity obliged the covenanters to assemble in large bodies; and their success in repelling the king's forces emboldened them to set forth a declaration against episcopacy, and publicly to burn the acts of parliament which had ordained that mode of ecclesiastical government in Scotland. They took possession of Glasgow, and formed a kind of preaching camp in the neighbourhood; whence they issued proclamations, declaring that they fought against the king's supremacy in religious matters, against popery, prelacy, and a popish successor²⁷.

Charles, alarmed at this insurrection, dispatched the duke of Monmouth, with a body of English cavalry, to join the royal army in Scotland, and subdue the fanatics. Monmouth met the covenanters at Bothwell-bridge, between Glasgow and Hamilton, where a rout rather than a battle ensued, and the insurgents were totally dispersed. About six hundred of these persecuted and misguided men fell in the pursuit, and twelve hundred were made prisoners. But, the execution of two clergymen excepted, this was all the blood that was shed. Monmouth used his victory with great moderation. Such prisoners as would promise to live peaceably in future, were dismissed.

²⁶ Burnet, vol. ii.—Wodrow, vol. ii.

²⁷ *Id. ibid.*

That lenity, however, unfortunately awakened the jealousy of the court. Monmouth was recalled and disgraced; and the duke of York, who had found a pretence to return to England, was entrusted with the government of Scotland. Under his administration, the covenanters were exposed to a cruel persecution; and such punishments were inflicted upon them, even on frivolous pretences, as make humanity shudder, and would disgrace the character of any prince less marked with severities than that of James. He is said to have been frequently present at the torturing of the unhappy criminals, and to have viewed their sufferings with as much unfeeling attention, as if he had been contemplating some curious experiment²⁸.

While these things were passing in Scotland, a new parliament assembled in England, where the spirit of party raged with unabated fury. Instead of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers* (or those who applied for redress of grievances, and such as opposed their petitions), into which the nation had been for some time divided, the court and country parties were now distinguished by the epithets of *Whig* and *Tory*. The court party reproached their antagonists with an affinity to the fanatics of Scotland, who were known by the name of *Whigs*; and the country party pretended to find a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of *Tory* was affixed²⁹. Such was the origin of those party-names, which will, in all probability, continue to the latest posterity.

The new parliament soon manifested a violent spirit. The commons voted, that it was the undoubted right of the subjects of England to petition the king for the sitting of parliament and the redress of grievances; and that to traduce such petitioning was to betray the liberty of the

28 Burnet, vol. ii.—This account of the apathy of James is confirmed by his letters in Dalrymple's *Appendix*, part i.

29 Burnet, vol. ii.—Hume, vol. viii.

people, to contribute to subvert the ancient constitution, and to introduce arbitrary power. They renewed the vote of their predecessors, laying the whole blame of the popish plot on the religion of the duke of York; and they brought in a bill for excluding him from the throne. This bill passed after a warm debate, and was carried up to the house of peers; where Shaftesbury and Sunderland argued powerfully for it, and Halifax no less strenuously against it. Through the forcible reasoning of the latter, who discovered an extent of abilities and a flow of eloquence which had never been exceeded in the English parliament, the bill was rejected by a considerable majority of the lords^o.

Enraged at this disappointment, the commons discovered their ill humour in many violent and unjustifiable proceedings. They prosecuted the Abhorrrers; they impeached the judges; and they persecuted the most intimate friends of the duke of York. At last they revived the impeachment of the popish lords in the Tower, and singled out the viscount Stafford as their victim. He was accordingly brought to trial; and, although labouring under the infirmities of age, he defended himself with great firmness and presence of mind, exhibiting the most striking proofs of his innocence. Yet, to the astonishment of all unprejudiced men, he was condemned by a majority of twenty-four voices. He received with surprise, but with resignation, the fatal verdict; and the people, who had exulted over his conviction, were softened into tears at his execution, by the venerable simplicity of his appearance. He made earnest protestations of his innocence, and expressed a hope that the present delusion would soon be dissipated. A silent assent to his asseveration was observed through the vast multitude of weeping spectators; while some cried, in a faltering accent, "We believe you, my lord!" Even the executioner was touched

with the general sympathy. Twice did he suspend the blow, after raising the fatal axe; and when at last, by a third effort, he severed that nobleman's head from his body, all the spectators seemed to feel the stroke³¹.

The execution of Stafford opened, in some measure, the eyes of the nation, but did not diminish the violence of the commons. They still hoped, that the king's urgent necessities would oblige him to throw himself wholly upon their generosity. They therefore brought in a bill for an association to prevent the duke of York, or any papist, from succeeding to the crown; and they voted, that all who had advised his majesty to oppose the bill of exclusion were enemies to the king and kingdom. Nor did

they stop here. They resolved, that, until a
A. D. 1681. bill to exclude the duke of York should pass, they could grant the king no supply, without betraying the trust reposed in them by their constituents. And that Charles might not be enabled, by any other expedient, to support the government, and preserve himself independent, they farther voted, that whoever should thereafter advance money on the customs, excise, or hearth-tax, or should accept or buy any tally of anticipation upon any part of the king's revenue, should be adjudged to hinder the sitting of parliament, and become responsible for his conduct at the bar of the house of commons³².

Disgusted at these proceedings, Charles resolved to prorogue the parliament; for, although he was sensible that the peers, who had rejected the exclusion bill, would still continue to defend the throne, he saw no hope of bringing the commons to a better temper, and was persuaded that their farther sitting could only serve to keep faction alive, and to prolong the general ferment of the nation. When they received information of his intent, they declared that whoever advised his majesty to pro-

31 Burnet, vol. ii.—Hume, vol. viii.

32 Journals, Dec. 1680, and Jan. 1681.

rogue his parliament, for any other purpose than to pass the bill of exclusion, was a betrayer of the king, and an enemy to the Protestant religion and to the kingdom of England, a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France³³. This furious resolution, and others of the same nature, determined the king ^{Jan. 18.} instantly to dissolve the parliament, instead of merely proroguing it.

Both parties had now carried matters so far, that a civil war seemed inevitable, unless the king, contrary to his fixed resolution of not interrupting the line of succession, should agree to pass the bill of exclusion. Charles saw his danger, and was prepared to meet it. A variety of circumstances, however, conspired to preserve the nation from that extremity, and to throw the whole power of government finally into the hands of the king.

The PERSONAL CHARACTER of Charles, who, to use the words of one who knew him well, with great *quickness of conception, pleasantness of wit, and variety of knowledge*, “had not a grain of pride or vanity in his whole composition³⁴,” had always rendered him the idol of the populace. The most affable and the best-bred man alive, he treated his subjects like noblemen, like gentlemen, like freemen; not like vassals or boors. His professions were plausible, and his whole behaviour engaging; so that he won the hearts, even while he lost the good opinion of his subjects; and often balanced their judgement of things by their *personal inclination*³⁵.

These qualities, and this part of his conduct, went a great way to give the king hold of the affections of his people. But these were not all. In his public conduct, too, he studied and even obtained a degree of popularity; for, although he often embraced measures inconsistent with the political interests of the nation, and sometimes dangerous

³³ *Journals*, Jan. 10, 1681.

³⁴ Sir William Temple.

³⁵ Bolingbroke's *Dissertation on Parties*.

to the liberty and religion of his subjects, he had never been found to persevere obstinately in them, but had always returned into that path which the general opinion seemed to point out to him. And, as a farther excuse, his worst measures were all ascribed to the bigotry and arbitrary principles of his brother. If he had been obstinate in denying, to the voice of his commons, the bill of exclusion, he had declared himself ready to pass any other bill that might be deemed necessary to secure the civil and religious liberties of his people during the reign of a popish successor, provided it did not tend to alter the descent of the crown in the true line. This, by the nation at large, was thought a reasonable concession; and, if accepted, would have effectually separated the king from the duke of York, unless he had changed his religion, instead of uniting them by a fear common to both. But the die was thrown; and the leaders of the Whig party resolved to hazard all, rather than hearken to any thing short of absolute exclusion³⁶.

This violence of the commons increased the number of the king's friends among the people. And he did not fail to take advantage of such a fortunate circumstance, in order to strengthen his authority, and to disconcert the designs of his enemies. He represented, to the zealous abettors of episcopacy, the multitude of presbyterians and other sectaries who had entered into the Whig party, both in and out of parliament; the encouragement and favour they met with, and the loudness of their clamours against popery and arbitrary power; which, he insinuated, were intended only to divert the attention of the more moderate and intelligent part of the kingdom from their republican and fanatical views. By these means, he made the nobility and clergy apprehend, that the old scheme for the abolition of the church and monarchy was revived; and that the same miseries and oppressions awaited them, to which they had

been so long exposed during the former and yet recent usurpations of the commons.

The memory of those melancholy times also united many cool and unprejudiced persons to the crown, and produced a dread that the zeal for civil liberty might engraft itself once more on religious enthusiasm, and deluge the nation in blood. The king himself seemed not to be totally free from such apprehensions. He therefore ordered the new parliament to assemble at Oxford, that the Whigs might be deprived of that encouragement and support which they might otherwise derive from the vicinity of the great and factious city of London. The behaviour of their leaders afforded a striking proof of the justice of the king's fears. Sixteen peers, all violent exclusionists, with the duke of Monmouth at their head, presented a petition against the sitting of the parliament at Oxford; "where the two houses," they said, "could not deliberate in safety; but would be exposed to the swords of the papists and their adherents, of whom too many had crept into his majesty's guards³⁷." These insinuations, which so evidently pointed at Charles himself, were thrown out merely to inflame the people, not to persuade the king of the terror of the parliament; and, instead of altering his resolution, they served only to confirm his opinion of its propriety.

In assembling a new parliament so soon as two months after the dissolution of the former, Charles had little expectation of meeting with a more favourable disposition in the commons. But he was desirous of demonstrating his readiness to meet the national assembly; hoping, if every method of accommodation should fail, that he might be better enabled to justify himself to the mass of his people, in coming to a final breach with the representative body. The commons, on their part, might easily have perceived, from the place where they were ordered to meet, that the

³⁷ Kennet, 1681.—*Mem. of James II.*

king was determined to act with firmness. But they still flattered themselves, that his urgent necessities and his love of ease would ultimately make him yield to their vehemence. They therefore filled the whole kingdom with noise and tumult. The elections were chiefly against the court; and the popular leaders, armed, and confident of victory, came to Oxford attended by numerous bands of their partisans. The four members for the city of London, in particular, were followed by large companies, wearing in their hats ribands, in which were woven the blood-stirring words, *No Popery! No Slavery!* The king also made a show of his strength. He entered Oxford in great pomp. His guards were regularly mustered; his party appeared in force; and all things, on both sides, wore the aspect of hostile opposition, rather than of civil deliberation or debate³⁸.

Charles, who had generally addressed his parliaments in the most soothing language, on this occasion assumed a more authoritative tone. He reproached the former house of commons with obstinacy, in rejecting his proffered limitations; he expressed a hope of finding a better temper in the present; and he assured both houses, that as he should use no arbitrary government himself, he was resolved not to suffer tyranny in others³⁹. The commons were not overawed by this appearance of vigour. They revived the impeachment of Danby, the inquiry into the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion.

Offended at the absurd bigotry of his brother, and willing to agree to any measure that might gain the commons without breaking the line of succession, Charles permitted one of his ministers to propose, that the duke of York should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that, on the king's decease, the next heir, namely, the princess of Orange, should be constituted regent, with regal power. This, as

38 Kennet, 1681.

39 *Journals of the Lords*, March 21, 1681.

lord Bolingbroke humorously observes, was surely not to vote the lion in the lobby into the house: it would have been to vote him out of the house and lobby both, and only suffer him to be called the lion still ⁴⁰. But the past disappointments of the popular leaders, and the opposition made by the court, had soured their temper to such a degree, that no method of excluding the duke, but their own, could give them satisfaction. The king's proposal was, therefore, rejected with disdain; and Charles, thinking he had now a sufficient apology for adopting that measure which he had foreseen would become March 28. necessary, went privately to the house of peers, and dissolved the parliament ⁴¹.

A sudden clap of thunder could not more have astonished the popular party, than did this bold step. Prepared for no other than parliamentary resistance, they gave all their towering hopes at once to the wind; and the great bulwark of opposition, which they had been so long employed in raising, quickly vanished into air. They were now sensible, that they had mistaken the temporising policy of Charles for timidity, and his love of ease for want of vigour. They found, that he had patiently waited until things should come to a crisis; and that, having procured a national majority on his side, he had set his enemies at defiance. No parliament, they knew, would be summoned for some years; and, during that dangerous interval, they foresaw that the court would have every advantage over a body of men dispersed and disunited. Their spirit left them, with their good fortune: fears for themselves succeeded to their violence against the crown. They were apprehensive that a prince whom they had offended and distressed, would use his victory with rigour. And their fears were not destitute of foundation.

From this time forward, the king became more severe in his temper, and jealous in his disposition. He imme-

diately concluded a secret money-treaty with France, that he might govern without parliamentary supplies⁴²; and he published a declaration, vindicating his late violent measure. That declaration was ordered to be read in all the churches and chapels of England: the eloquence of the clergy seconded the arguments of the monarch: addresses, full of expressions of duty and loyalty, were sent to him from all parts of the kingdom; and the people in general seemed to congratulate their sovereign on his happy escape from parliaments⁴³! The doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were revived; and the bench and the pulpit seemed to contend with each other, which could show most zeal for unlimited power in the crown.

This was a strange and sudden revolution in the sentiments of the nation: yet, had the king pushed his victory no farther, had he been content to enjoy his triumph without violence or injustice, his past conduct might have admitted some apology, and the abettors of the prerogative might have awakened resentment without exciting the warmth of indignation. But Charles was unfortunately at the head of a faction, who seemed to think that the hour of retaliation was come; and as he had formerly temporised to quiet his enemies, he now judged it necessary to give way to the vehemence of his friends. To gratify the established clergy, a severe persecution was commenced against the presbyterians, and other Protestant sectaries, who had been the chief support of the exclusionists in the house of commons; and the profligate spies, informers, and false witnesses, who had been retained by the popular party in order to establish the reality of the popish plot, and whose perjuries had proved fatal to obnoxious Catholics, were now enlisted by the court, and

⁴² *Dalrymple's Append.*—James II. 1681.

⁴³ This remarkable change, as Burnet judiciously observes, shows how little dependence can be placed on popular humours, which “have their ebblings and “their flowings, their hot and cold fits, almost as certainly as seas or fevers.” *Hist. of his own Times*, vol. ii.

played off as engines against their former patrons. The royalists, to use the expressions of a nervous writer, thought their opponents so much covered with guilt, that *injustice* itself became *just* in their punishment⁴⁴.

Every other species of retaliation but this, my dear Philip, may perhaps be vindicated, or admit some excuse. Let force revenge the outrages committed by force; let blood stream for blood; let the pillage of one party repay the depredations of another; these are but temporary evils, and may soon be forgotten: but let not the fountain of justice be poisoned in its source, and the laws, intended to protect mankind, become instruments of destruction. This is the greatest calamity that can befall a nation, famine and pestilence not excepted; and may be considered as the last stage of political degeneracy.

In those times of general corruption and abject servility, when men of all ranks seemed ready to prostrate themselves at the foot of the throne, the citizens of London retained their bold spirit of liberty and independence. The grand jury had judiciously rejected an indictment against the earl of Shaftesbury, on account of the improbability of the circumstances, after perjury had gone its utmost length. Enraged at this disappointment, the court endeavoured to influence the election A. D. 1682. of the magistrates, and succeeded; but as that contest, it was perceived, might annually recur, something more decisive was resolved upon. A writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued against the city; that is, an inquiry into the validity of a corporation charter, which is presumed to be defective, or to have been forfeited by some offence to be proved in the course of suit. And although the cause of the city was powerfully defended, and the offences pleaded against it were of the most frivolous kind, judgement was given in favour of the crown⁴⁵. A. D. 1683.

⁴⁴ Macpherson's *Hist. of Brit.* chap. vi.

⁴⁵ Soon after the Revolution, this judgement was reversed by act of Parliament;

The aldermen and common-council, in humble supplication, waited upon the king; and Charles, who had now obtained his end, agreed to restore their charter, but on such terms as would put the proud capital entirely in his power. He reserved to himself the *approbation* of the principal magistrates, and (if he should twice disapprove the lord mayor or sheriffs elected) the *appointment* of others in their room.

Filled with consternation at the fate of London, and convinced how ineffectual a contest with the court would prove, most of the other corporations in England surrendered their charters into the king's hands, and paid large sums for such new ones as he was pleased to frame. By these means a fatal stab was given to the constitution. The nomination of all the civil magistrates, and the disposal of all offices of power or profit, in every corporation of the kingdom, were in a manner vested in the crown; and, more than three-fourths of the house of commons being chosen by the boroughs, the court became sure of an undisputed majority. A perfect despotism was established.

In such times, when it was dangerous even to complain, resistance might be *imprudent*; but no attempt for the recovery of legal liberty could be *criminal* in men who had been born free. A project of this kind had for some time been entertained by a set of determined men, among whom were some of the heads of the country party, though various causes had hitherto prevented it from being brought to maturity; particularly the impeachment of the earl of Shaftesbury, the framer of the plot, and his unexpected departure for Holland, where he soon after died. But the zeal of the conspirators, which had begun to languish, was rekindled by the seizure of the

and it was at the same time enacted, that the privileges of the city of London should never be forfeited by any delinquency in the members of the corporation. Stat. 2 W. and M.

corporation charters, and a regular plan of insurrection was formed. This business was committed to a council of six; the members of which were, the duke of Monmouth, lord Russell (son of the earl of Bedford), the earl of Essex, lord Howard, the famous Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson of the illustrious patriot of that name.

These men had concerted an insurrection in the city of London, where their influence was great; in Scotland, by an agreement with the earl of Argyle, who engaged to bring the covenanters into the field; and in the West of England, by the assistance of the friends of liberty in that quarter. They had even taken measures for surprising the king's guards, though without any design of injuring his person; the exclusion of the duke of York, and the redress of grievances, which they had found could not be obtained in a parliamentary way, being all they proposed by rising in arms. Sidney and Essex, indeed, are said to have embraced the idea of a republic; but Russell and Hampden, the more moderate and popular conspirators, had no views but the restoration of the broken constitution of their country, and the securing of the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

While these important objects were in contemplation, but before any blow had been struck, or even the time fixed for such a purpose, the conspirators were betrayed by one of their associates, named Keeling. Lord Howard, a man of no principle, and in needy circumstances, also became a witness for the crown, in hopes of pardon and reward. On the evidence of these and other informers, several of the conspirators were seised, condemned, and executed. Among these, the most distinguished were Russell and Sidney. Both died with the intrepidity of men who had resolved to hazard their lives in the field, in order to break the fetters of slavery, and rescue themselves and their fellow-subjects from an ignominious

despotism⁴⁶. Monmouth, who had absconded, surrendered on a promise of pardon; Essex put an end to his life in the Tower; and sufficient proof not being found against Hampden to make his crime capital, he was loaded with an exorbitant fine; which, as it was beyond his ability to pay, was equivalent to a sentence of perpetual imprisonment⁴⁷.

The defeat of this conspiracy, known by the name of the *Rye-house Plot*, contributed still farther to strengthen the hands of government, already too strong. The king was earnestly congratulated on his escape; new addresses were presented to him; and the doctrine of implicit submission to the civil magistrate, or an unlimited passive obedience, was more openly taught. The heads of the university of Oxford, under pretence of condemning certain doctrines, which they denominated republican, went even so far as to pass a solemn decree in favour of absolute monarchy. The persecution was renewed against the Protestant sectaries, and the most zealous friends of

46 Lord Grey's *Hist. of the Rye-house Plot*.—*State Trials*, vol. iii.—Law, if not justice, was violated, in order to procure the condemnation of Sidney, whose talents the king feared. Russell's popularity proved no less fatal to him. He was beloved and esteemed by the nation, and therefore seemed to be a necessary victim in those times. Charles accordingly resisted every attempt to save him; for he scorned, on his trial, to deny his share in the concerted insurrection. In vain did lady Russell, the daughter of the loyal and virtuous Southampton, throw herself at the royal feet, and crave mercy for her husband: in vain did the earl of Bedford offer a hundred thousand pounds, through the mediation of the duchess of Portsmouth, for the life of his son. The king was inexorable. And, to put a stop to all farther importunity, he said, in reply to the earl of Dartmouth, one of his favourite courtiers, and lord Russell's declared enemy, but who yet advised a pardon—"I must have his life, or he will have mine!" (*Dalrymple's Append. and Mem.* part i.) "My death," said Russell, with a consolatory prescience, when he found his fate was inevitable, "will be of more service to my country, than my life could have been!"

47 Burnet, vol. ii.—The severity of Charles, in punishing these over-zealous friends of freedom, seems to have been intended to strike terror into the whole popular party; and unfortunately for the criminals, a conspiracy of an inferior kind, which aimed at the king's life, being discovered at the same time, afforded him too good a pretext for his rigour. The *assassination plot* was confounded, on all the trials, with that for an *insurrection*.

freedom. Justice was perverted with redoubled zeal; and the duke of York was recalled from Scotland, and restored to the office of high admiral, without taking the test. A.D. 1684.

This violation of an express act of parliament could not fail to give offence to the more discerning part of the nation; but the duke's arbitrary counsels, and the great favour and indulgence shown to the Catholics through his influence, were more general causes of complaint. He indeed held entirely the reins of government, and left the king to pursue his favourite amusements; to loiter with his mistresses, and laugh with his courtiers. Hence the celebrated saying of Waller:—"The king is not only desirous that the duke should succeed him, but is resolved, out of spite to his parliament, to make him reign even during his life."

Apprehensive, however, of new conspiracies, or secretly struck with the iniquity of his administration, Charles is said to have seriously projected a change of measures. He was frequently overheard to remonstrate warmly with his brother; and, finding him obstinate in his violent counsels, he resolved once more to banish him from the court, call a parliament, and throw himself wholly on the affections of his people. While he was revolving these ideas in his mind, he was seized with a fit, resembling an apoplexy; which, after an interval of reason, carried him off in the fifty-fifth year of his age, not without suspicions of poison⁴⁸. These suspicions fell not on the duke of York, but on the confessor and other Catholic attendants of the duchess of Portsmouth, to whom she had communicated the king's intentions⁴⁹. Feb. 6.

The great lines of Charles's character I have already had occasion to delineate. As a prince, he was void of ambition, and destitute of a proper sense of his dignity in relation to foreign politics. With regard to domestic

⁴⁸ Burnet, vol. ii.

⁴⁹ Id. *ibid*.

politics, he was able and artful, but mean and disingenuous. As a husband, he was unfaithful, and neglectful of the queen's person, as well as of the respect due to her character. As a gentleman and companion, he was elegant, easy, gay, and facetious; but having little sensibility of heart, and a very bad opinion of human nature, he appears to have been incapable of friendship or gratitude. As a lover, however, he was generous, and seemingly even affectionate. He recommended, with his latest breath, the duchess of Portsmouth, whom he had loaded with benefits, and her son, the duke of Richmond, to his brother, and earnestly requested him not to let poor Nell starve⁵⁰!—This was Eleanor Gwynne, whom the king had formerly taken from the stage; and who, though no longer regarded as a mistress, had still served to amuse him in a vacant hour⁵¹. So warm an attachment, in his last moments, to the object of an unlawful passion, has been regarded, by a great divine and popular historian, as a blemish in the character of Charles. But the philosopher judges differently: he is glad to find, that so profligate a prince was capable of any sincere attachment; and considers even this sympathy with the objects of sensuality, when the illusions of sense could no longer deceive, as an honour to his memory.

The religion of Charles, and his receiving the sacrament on his death-bed from Huddleston, a Romish priest, while he refused it from the divines of the church of England, and disregarded their exhortations, have also afforded grounds of reproach. But if the king was really a Catholic, as is generally believed, and as I have ventured to affirm on respectable authorities⁵², he could neither be blamed for

⁵⁰ Burnet, ubi sup.

⁵¹ It may seem somewhat unaccountable that Charles, after so long an acquaintance, should have left Nell in such a necessitous condition, as to be in danger of starving. But this request must only be considered as a solicitous expression of tenderness.

⁵² Burnet, Halifax, Hume, &c. In confirmation of these authorities, see Barrillon's *Letters to Louis XIV.* Feb. 18, 1685, in Dalrymple's *Append.*

concealing his religion from his subjects, nor for dying in that faith which he had embraced. If, as others contend, he was not a Catholic, his brother took a very extraordinary step, in making him die in the Romish communion. But if he was so weak, when Huddleston was introduced to him by the duke of York, as to be unable to refuse compliance; if he agreed to receive the sacrament from the divines of the church of England, but had not power to swallow the elements⁵³; these circumstances prove nothing but his own feeble condition, and the blind bigotry of his brother. The truth, however, seems to be, that Charles while in high health, was of no particular religion; but that, having been early initiated in the Catholic faith, he always fled to the altar of superstition when his spirits were low, or when his life seemed to be in danger.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to the line of general history, and examine the progress of the ambition of Louis XIV.

LETTER XV.

A general view of the Affairs of the Continent, from the Peace of Nimeguen, in 1678, to the League of Augsburg, in 1687.

THE peace of Nimeguen, as might have been foreseen by the allies, instead of setting bounds to the ambition of Louis, gave him leisure to perfect that scheme of general monarchy, or absolute sovereignty, in Europe at least, into which he was flattered by his poets and orators; and which, at length, roused a new and more powerful confederacy against him. While the empire, Spain, and Holland, disbanded their supernumerary troops, he still kept up all his: in the midst of profound peace, he maintained a formidable army, and acted as if he had been

⁵³ Macpherson's *Hist. of Brit.* vol. i. chap. iv.

already the sole sovereign in Europe, and all other princes but his vassals. He established judicatures for re-uniting such territories as had anciently depended upon the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; upon Alsace, or any of his late conquests. These arbitrary courts inquired into titles buried in remote antiquity: they cited the neighbouring princes, and even the king of Spain to appear before them, and render homage to the king of France, or behold the confiscation of their possessions.

No European prince, since the time of Charlemagne, had acted so much like a master and a judge, as Louis

A. D. 1680. XIV. The Palatine, and the elector of Trèves,

were deprived of the signories of Falkembourg, Germersheim, Valdentz, and other places, by his impetuous tribunals; and he laid claim to the ancient and free city of Strasburg, as the capital of Alsace. This large and rich city, which was mistress of the Rhine by means

A. D. 1681. of its bridge over that river, had long attracted

the eye of the French monarch: and his minister Louvois, by the most artful conduct, at last put him in possession of it. He ordered troops to enter Lorrain, Franche Comté, and Alsace, under pretence of employing them in working on the fortifications in those provinces. But, according to concert, they all assembled in the neighbourhood of Strasburg, to the number of twenty thousand men, and took possession of the ground between the Rhine and the city, as well as of the redoubt that covered the bridge. Louvois appeared at their head, and demanded that the town should be put under the protection of his master. The magistrates had been corrupted: consternation seized the inhabitants; the city opened its gates, after having secured its privileges by capitulation. Vauban, who had fortified so many places, seemed here to exhaust his art; and he rendered Strasburg the strongest barrier of France¹.

¹ *Hist. d'Alsace*, liv. xxiii.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xiii.

Nor did Louis behave with less arrogance on the side of the Low-Countries. He demanded the county of Alost from the Spaniards, on the most frivolous, and even ridiculous pretence. His minister, he said, had forgotten to insert it in the articles of peace; and as it was not immediately yielded to him, he blockaded Luxemburg. A. D. 1683. Alarmed at these ambitious pretensions, the empire, Spain, and Holland, began to take measures for restraining the encroachments of France. But Spain was yet too feeble to enter upon a new war, and the imperial armies were required in another quarter, to oppose a more pressing danger. The Hungarians, whose privileges Leopold had never sufficiently respected, had again broken out in rebellion; and Tekeli, the head of the insurgents, had called in the Turks to the support of his countrymen. By the assistance of these infidels, he ravaged Silesia, and reduced some important places in Hungary; while the grand signor, Mohammed IV., was preparing one of the most formidable armies that the Ottoman empire had ever sent against Christendom. Leopold, foreseeing that the gathering storm would finally break upon Germany, beside demanding the assistance of the princes of the empire, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the king of Poland. This prince was the celebrated John Sobieski, who, in the reign of Michael Wiesnowiski, the successor of John Casimir², had signalled his military skill and valour against the Turks, and had so fully established his reputation and interest, that he was, in 1674, raised to the throne which he was qualified to adorn.

The grand vizir, Kara Mustapha, passing through Hungary, at the head of fifty thousand janisaries, thirty thousand spahis, and an extraordinary number of common

² It may here be observed, that John Casimir, disgusted at the turbulence of the nobles, resigned the crown in 1669. In the reign of this prince, the first instance is said to have occurred of the stoppage of the proceedings of the diet by a single *veto*, or negative—an absurd and dangerous privilege.

men, with baggage and artillery in proportion to such a multitude, advanced towards Vienna. The duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial forces, attempted in vain to oppose the progress of the invaders. The vizir took the right of the Danube, and Tekeli the left. Seeing his capital thus threatened, the emperor retired first to Lintz and afterwards to Passau. The major part of the inhabitants followed the court, and nothing was to be seen, on all sides, but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden with moveables³. The whole empire was thrown into consternation.

The garrison of Vienna amounted to about fifteen thousand men; and the citizens able to bear arms, to near fifty thousand. The Turks carried on the siege for several weeks; and, having destroyed the suburbs, at length made a breach in the body of the place. The duke of Lorraine had been so fortunate as to prevent the Hungarians from joining the Turks, but was unable to relieve the garrison; and an assault was every moment expected, when a deliverer appeared. The king of Poland, having joined his troops to those of Saxony, Bavaria, and the circles, made a signal to the besieged from the top of the hill of Schallenberg, and inspired them with new hopes. Kara Mustapha, who, from a contempt of the Christians, had neglected to push the assault, and who, amidst the progress of ruin, had wantoned in luxury, was now made sensible of his mistake, when too late to repair it.

The Christians, to the number of fifty thousand, descended the hill, under the command of the king of Poland, the duke of Lorraine, and a great number of German princes. The grand vizir advanced to meet them at the head of the main body of the Turkish army, while he ordered an assault to be made upon the city with twenty thousand men, who were left in the trenches. The assault failed; and the Turks, being seised with a panic, were quickly routed. Only five hundred of the

Sept. 12, N. S.

³ *Annal. de l'Emp.* tome ii.—Barre, tome x.

victors fell, and not above one thousand of the vanquished. And so great was the terror, and so precipitate the flight of the infidels, that they not only abandoned their tents, artillery, and baggage, but left behind them even the famous standard of Mohammed, which was sent as a present to the pope! The Turks received another defeat in the plain of Barcan; and the Hungarian towns were recovered by the imperial arms⁴.

The king of France, who had supported the mal-contented in Hungary, and who encouraged the invasion of the Turks, raised however the blockade of Luxemburg, when they approached Vienna. "I will never," said he, "attack a Christian prince, while Christendom is in danger from the infidels." He was confident, when he made this declaration, that the imperial city would be taken, and had an army on the frontiers of Germany, ready to oppose the farther progress of those very Turks whom he had invited thither! By becoming the protector of the empire, he hoped to procure the election of his son to the dignity of king of the Romans. But this scheme being defeated, and the apprehensions of Christendom removed by the relief of Vienna and the expulsion of the Turks, the French resumed the siege of Luxemburg, and reduced not only that place, but also Courtray and Dixmude⁵.

Enraged at these acts of violence, the Spaniards declared war, and attempted to retaliate. And the prince of Orange was eager for a general confederacy against France; but he was not able to draw the king of England into such a league. The emperor, still deeply involved in war with the Turks and Hungarians, could make no effort on the side of Flanders; and the Spaniards alone were unequal to that contest in which, forgetting their weakness, they had rashly engaged. A truce with France was, therefore, concluded at Ratisbon, by Spain and the empire,

⁴ *Annal. de l'Emp.* tome ii.—Barre, tome x.

⁵ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xiii.

for twenty years. The principal articles of this temporary treaty were, that Louis should restore Courtray and Dixmude, but might retain Luxemburg, Strasburg, the fortress of Kehl, and part of the re-unions ordered by his arbitrary courts established at Metz and Brisac⁶.

The glory and greatness of the French monarch were still farther extended by means of his naval power. He had now raised his lately-created marine to a degree of force that exceeded the hopes of France, and increased the fears of Europe. He had a hundred ships of the line, and sixty thousand seamen. The magnificent port of Toulon, in the Mediterranean, was constructed at an immense expense; and that of Brest, upon the Ocean, was formed on as extensive a plan. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with ships; and Rochefort, in spite of nature, was converted into a convenient harbour. Nor did Louis, though engaged in no naval war, allow his ships to lie inactive in these ports. He sent out squadrons, at different times, to clear the seas of the Barbary pirates; he ordered Algiers twice to be bombarded; and he had the pleasure not only of humbling that haughty predatory city, and of obliging the Algerines to release their Christian slaves, but of subjecting Tunis and Tripoli to the same conditions⁷.

The republic of Genoa, for a slight offence, was no less severely treated than Algiers. The Genoese were accused of having sold bombs and gunpowder to the Algerines; and they had farther incurred the displeasure of Louis, by engaging to build four galleys for the Spaniards. He commanded them, on pain of his resentment, not to launch those vessels. Incensed at this insult on their independence, they paid no regard to the menace. They seemed even desirous to show their contempt of such arrogance; but they had soon occasion to repent their temerity. Fourteen ships of the line, with frigates and bomb-

6 Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat.* tome vii.

7 Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xiii.

vessels, sailed from Toulon, under old Du-Quesne; and, appearing before Genoa, suddenly reduced to a heap of ruins part of those magnificent buildings, which had obtained for that city the appellation of *PROUD*. Four thousand men landed, and the suburb of St. Peter d'Arena was burned. It now became necessary for the Genoese to make submissions, in order to prevent the total destruction of their capital. Louis demanded, that the doge, and four of the principal senators, should come and implore his clemency at Versailles; and, to prevent the Genoese from eluding this satisfaction, or depriving him of any part of his triumph, he insisted that the doge, who should be sent to deprecate his vengeance, should be continued in office, notwithstanding the perpetual law of the republic, by which a doge is deprived of his dignity the moment he quits the city. These humiliating conditions were complied with. Imperiale Lascaro, in his ceremonial habit, accompanied by four of the principal senators, appeared before Louis in a supplicating posture. The doge, who was a man of wit and vivacity, on being asked by the French courtiers what he saw most extraordinary at Versailles, very pointedly replied—"To see myself here⁸!"

A. D. 1685.

The grandeur of Louis was now at its highest point of elevation; but the sinews of his real power were already somewhat slackened, by the death of the great Colbert. That excellent minister, to whom France was indebted for her most valuable manufactures, her commerce, and her navy, had enabled his master, by the order and economy with which he conducted the finances, to support the most expensive wars; to dazzle with his pomp all the nations of Europe; and to corrupt its principal courts without distressing his people. He has, however, been accused of not sufficiently encouraging agriculture, and of paying too much attention to the manufactures connected with lux-

⁸ Voltaire, ubi sup.

ury. But he was sensible, that only these, which for a time made all her neighbours in a manner tributary to France, could supply the excessive drain of war, and the ostentatious waste of the king. He was not at liberty to follow his own judgement. The necessities of the state obliged him to adopt a temporary policy, and to encourage the more sumptuous manufactures at the expense of general industry, and consequently of population.

But in the prosecution of this system, which, though radically defective, was the best that could be adopted in such circumstances, Colbert employed the wisest measures. He not only established the most ingenious, and least known manufactures, such as silk, velvet, lace, tapestry, and carpets; but he established them in the cheapest and most convenient places, and encouraged, without distinction, persons of all nations and all religions. Above the rest, the Huguenots seemed to claim his attention. Having long lost their political consequence, they devoted themselves chiefly to manufactures. They every where recommended themselves by their industry and ingenuity, which were often rewarded with great opulence. This opulence begot envy; envy produced jealousy; and soon after the death of Colbert, who had always protected and patronised them, these useful and ingenious sectaries, without the imputation of any crime, were exposed to a cruel and impolitic persecution, which reduced them to the necessity of abandoning their native country.

This persecution, whose progress was marked by the revocation of the famous Edict of Nantes, which had secured to the French Protestants the free exercise of their religion, and was understood to be perpetual, throws peculiar disgrace on the polished court and enlightened reign of Louis. Even before the repeal of that edict, so blindly bigoted, or so violent and short-sighted, were the French ministers, that the Protestants were not only excluded from all civil employments, but rendered incapable of holding

any share in the principal silk manufactures, though they only could carry them on to advantage⁹.

One might think, from such regulations, that those ministers had lived in the darkest ages, or were determined to ruin the state. Nor were their subsequent ordinances less impolitic or absurd. They banished all the Protestant pastors, without once suspecting that the flock would follow them: and when that evil was perceived, it was ineffectually decreed, that such as attempted to leave the kingdom should be sent to the galleys. Those who remained, were prohibited on pain of death even from the private exercise of their religion; and, on pretence of securing the eternal salvation of the children of the misguided heretics, they were ordered to be taken from their parents, and committed to their nearest Catholic relatives, or, in default of those, to such other good Catholics as the judges should appoint for their education. All the terrors of military execution, and all the artifices of priestcraft, were employed to make converts; and such as relapsed were sentenced to the most cruel punishments. As many as formed about a twentieth part of the whole body were put to death in a short time, and a price was set on the heads of others, who were hunted like wild beasts upon the mountains¹⁰.

A. D. 1686.

By these severities, in spite of the guards that were placed on the frontiers, and every other tyrannical restraint, France was deprived of four hundred thousand of her most valuable inhabitants, who carried their wealth, their industry, and their skill in ingenious manufactures, into England, Holland, and Germany; where Louis found, in his own fugitive and once faithful subjects, not only formidable rivals in commerce, but powerful enemies burning with revenge, and gallant soldiers ready to set bounds to his ambition.

But while this monarch persecuted the French Protest-

⁹ *Mém. de Noailles*, par l'Abbé Millot, tome i.

¹⁰ *Id. ibid.*—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xxxii.

ants, in opposition to all the principles of humanity and sound policy, he was no dupe to the court of Rome. On the contrary, he did every thing in his power to mortify Innocent XI.; a man of virtue and abilities, who now filled the papal chair. He carried ecclesiastical disputes with him as far as possible, without separating the Gallican church entirely from the apostolic see. In civil A. D. 1687. affairs, the contest was still warmer, and took its rise from a singular abuse. The ambassadors of popish princes at Rome extended what they called their *quarters*, or the right of freedom and asylum, to a great distance from their houses. This pernicious privilege rendered a great part of that capital a certain refuge for all sorts of criminals; and by another privilege, as whatever entered Rome under the sanction of an ambassador's name paid no duty, the trade of the city suffered, and the state was defrauded of its revenue. In order to remedy these abuses, Innocent prevailed on the emperor and the king of Spain to forego such odious rights; and an application to the same purpose was made to the king of France, entreating him to concur with the other princes in promoting the tranquillity and good order of Rome. Louis, who was already dissatisfied with the pope, haughtily replied, that he had never made the conduct of others an example to himself, but, on the contrary, would make himself an example to others! He accordingly sent his ambassador to Rome, surrounded with guards and other armed attendants; and the pontiff was able to oppose him only with excommunications¹¹.

This triumph over the spiritual father of Christendom was the last insult on the dignity of sovereigns, which Louis was suffered to commit with impunity. The emperor had taken Buda from the Turks, after an obstinate siege: he had defeated them with great slaughter at Mohatz: he had entirely subdued the mal-contents of Hun-

11 Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xiii.

gary; and, by his influence, the crown of that realm had been declared hereditary in the house of Austria, and his son Joseph proclaimed king. Though still engaged in hostilities with the infidels, he had now leisure to turn his eye towards France; nor could he do it with indifference. The same vain-glorious ambition which had prompted Louis to tyrannise over the pope, and to persecute his Protestant subjects (that, to use the language of his historians, as there was ONE king there might be but ONE religion in the monarchy), and which justly alarmed all Germany and the North, at length awakened the resentment of Leopold.

A league had been already concluded by the whole empire at Augsburg, in order to restrain the encroachments of France, and to vindicate the objects of the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, and Nimeguen. And an ambitious attempt of Louis to obtain the electorate of Cologne for the cardinal de Fürstemberg, one of his own creatures, in opposition to the emperor, at once showed the necessity of such an association, and re-kindled the flames of war in Germany and the Low-Countries. Spain and Holland had become principals in the league; Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy, were afterward gained; so that only the accession of England seemed requisite to render the confederacy complete; and that was at last acquired.—But, before I enter into particulars, we must take a view of the reign of James II., and of that improvement of the English constitution with which it was terminated.

LETTER XVI.

History of Great-Britain and Ireland, during the Reign of James II.

THE popular character and temporising policy of Charles II. had so generally reconciled the English nation even to his arbitrary government, that the obnoxious re-

ligion, and absurd bigotry of his brother, may be considered as having been fortunate circumstances for the British constitution. For, if James II. had been a Protestant, he might quietly have established despotism in England: or if, as he formerly promised, he had made his religion a private affair between God and his own conscience, he might still have been able to subdue the small remains of liberty, and to establish that absolute sway which he loved. But the justice of these reflections will best appear from the facts by which they were suggested.

The new king, who was fifty-one years of age when he ascended the throne, began his reign with a very popular act. He immediately assembled the privy council, and declared, that, although he had been represented as a man of arbitrary principles, and though he would never relinquish the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, he was determined to maintain the established government, both in church and state, being sensible that the laws of England were sufficient to make him as great a monarch as he could wish¹. This declaration gave great satisfaction to the council, and was received with the warmest applause by the nation. As James had hitherto been considered as a prince of unimpeached honour and sincerity, no one doubted that his intentions were conformable to his professions. "We have now," it was commonly said, "the word of a king; and a word never yet broken²!" It was represented as a greater security to the constitution than any that laws could give. Addresses poured in from all quarters, full not only of expressions of duty, but of the most servile adulation³.

But this popularity was of short continuance. The nation was soon convinced, that the king either was not sincere in his promise of preserving the constitution in-

1 Printed *Declaration*.

2 Burnet, book iv.

3 The address from the quakers, however, was distinguished by that plainness which has so long characterised the sect. "We are come," said they, "to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being

violate, or entertained ideas of that constitution very different from those of his people, and such as could yield no security to their civil or religious liberties. He went openly, and with all the ensigns of his dignity, to mass, an illegal worship: he was even so imprudent as to urge others to follow his example: he sent an agent to Rome, to make submissions to the pope; and he levied taxes without the authority of parliament⁴.

James, however, soon found the necessity of assembling a parliament; and, in consequence of the influence which the crown had acquired in the boroughs, by the violation of the charters, a house of commons was procured as compliant as even an arbitrary prince could wish. If they had been otherwise disposed, the king's speech was more calculated to work on their fears than their affections, to inflame opposition than to conciliate favour, and strongly indicated the violence of his principles. After repeating his promise to govern according to the laws, and to preserve the established religion, he told the commons, that he positively expected they would grant him, during his life, the same revenue which his brother had enjoyed. "I might use many arguments," said he, "to enforce this demand! the benefit of trade, the support of the navy, the necessities of the crown, and the well-being of the government itself, which I must not suffer to be precarious: but I am confident that your own consideration, and your sense of what is just, will suggest to you whatever I might reasonably say on this occasion. There is indeed one popular argument," added he, "which may be urged against compliance with my demands. Men may think, that by *feeding me from time*

"made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England, any more than we; wherefore, we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself; which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness."

⁴ Burnet, book iv.—Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iii.

“to *time* with such supplies as *they think convenient*, they
 “will better secure *frequent meetings of parliament*: but,
 “as this is the first time that I speak to you from the
 “throne, I will answer this argument once for all. I must
 “plainly tell you, that such an expedient would be very
 “improper to employ with ME; and that the best way to
 “engage me to *meet you often*, is always to *use me well*⁵.”

In return to this imperious speech, which a spirited parliament would have received with indignation, both houses presented an address of thanks, without so much as a debate; and the commons unanimously voted, that the revenue enjoyed by the late king, at the time of his death, should be settled on their new sovereign for life. Nor did the generosity of the commons stop here. The king having demanded a farther supply for removing the anticipations on the revenue, and other temporary purposes, they revived certain duties on wines and vinegar, which had been granted to Charles, but which, having expired during the bad humours of his latter parliaments, had not been renewed. To these were added some impositions on tobacco and sugar; all which, under the rigid oeconomy of James, rendered the crown, in time of peace, independent of the parliament.

The Scottish parliament went yet farther than that of England. Both lords and commons declared their abhorrence of all the principles and positions derogatory to the king's *sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute* authority; of which none, they said, whether single persons or collective bodies, could participate but in dependence on him and by commission from him. They offered, in the name of the nation, to support with their lives and fortunes the present king, and his lawful heirs, against all mortal men: and they annexed the whole excise, both of inland and foreign commodities, for ever to the crown⁶.

This profuse liberality of the parliaments of the two

⁵ *Journals*, May 19, 1685.

⁶ Burnet, book iv.—Hume, vol. viii.

kingdoms, and the general and even abject submission of the two nations, gave the king reason to believe that his throne was as safely established as that of any European monarch. But, while every thing remained in tranquillity at home, a storm was gathering abroad to disturb his repose; and this, although it was dissipated with little trouble, may be considered as a prelude to the great revolution which finally deprived him of his crown, and condemned him and his posterity to a dependent and fugitive life among foreigners.

The prince of Orange, ever since the proposed exclusion of James, had raised his hopes to the English throne. He had entered deeply into intrigues with the ministers of Charles; he had encouraged the parliamentary leaders in their violent opposition; and, unaccountable as it may seem, it appears that he secretly abetted the ambitious views of the duke of Monmouth, though they both aimed at the same object⁷. It is at least certain that he received the duke with great kindness and respect, after he had been pardoned by a fond and indulgent father, for his unnatural share in the Rye-house plot, but ordered to leave the kingdom on a new symptom of disaffection; and that, on the accession of James, when the prince of Orange was professing the strongest attachment to his father-in-law, the duke, the earl of Argyle, and other British fugitives in Holland, were suffered, under his secret protection, to provide themselves with necessaries, and to form the plan of an invasion, in hopes of rousing the people to arms⁸.

Argyle, who was first ready, sailed for Scotland with three vessels, carrying arms and ammunition; and, soon after his arrival in the Highlands, he found himself at the head of two thousand men. But the king's authority was too firmly established in Scotland to be shaken by such a force. The earl was so far sensible of his weakness, that

⁷ See King James's *Mem.* in Macpherson's *Original Papers*, vol. i. and also the *Negotiations of the Count D'Avaux*.

⁸ *Memoirs of James*.—D'Avaux.

he was afraid to venture into the low country; where, if he had been able to keep the field, he might have met with support from the covenanters. At any rate, he ought to have hazarded the attempt, before the ardour of his adherents had leisure to cool, or his well-wishers time to discern his danger, instead of waiting for an accession of strength among his mountains. But his situation, it must be owned, was truly discouraging. Government, apprised of his intended invasion, had ordered all the considerable gentry of his clan to be thrown into prison: The militia of the kingdom, to the number of twenty-two thousand men, were soon under arms; and a third part of them, with some regular forces, were now on their march to oppose him. The marquis of Athol pressed him on one side; lord Charles Murray on the other; the duke of Gordon hung upon his rear; the earl of Dunbarton met him in front. His arms and ammunition were seized, his provisions cut off. In this desperate extremity, he endeavoured to force his way into the disaffected part of the western counties. He accordingly crossed the river Leven, and afterwards the Clyde; but no person showed either courage or inclination to join him. His followers, who had suffered all the hardships of famine and fatigue, gradually deserted; and he himself, being made prisoner, was carried to Edinburgh, and put to death on a former iniquitous sentence⁹. Two English gentlemen excepted, his adherents, by dispersing themselves, escaped punishment.

Meanwhile the duke of Monmouth, according to agreement, had landed in the West of England; and, although he was then accompanied only by about eighty persons, the number of his armed partisans soon increased to three thousand. At the head of these, who were chiefly of the lower class, he entered Taunton; where he was received with such extraordinary expressions of joy, that he issued a declaration asserting the legitimacy of his birth, and

⁹ Burnet.—Wodrow.

assumed the title of king. He now proceeded to Bridgewater, where he was received with equal affection, and proclaimed king by the magistrates, with all the formalities of their office. His party hourly increased; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss great numbers who crowded to his standard. He only, perhaps, needed conduct and abilities to have overturned his uncle's throne. Observing his want of these, as well as of resources, the nobility and gentry kept at a distance. He had no man of talents or courage, to give advice to him in the closet, or to assist him in the field. Lord Grey, his general of horse, whom he had the weakness to continue in command, was to his own knowledge a coward; and he himself, though personally brave, allowed the expectation of the people to languish, without attempting any bold enterprise¹⁰.

Notwithstanding this imprudent caution, and the news of Argyle's miscarriage, Monmouth's followers continued to adhere to him, after all his hopes of success had failed, and when he had even thought of providing for his own safety by flight. Roused to action by such warm attachment, and encouraged by the prospect of seizing an unexpected advantage, he attacked the king's forces, July 6. under the earl of Feversham, at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater; and if his own misconduct, and the cowardice of Lord Grey, had not obstructed his success, he might have obtained a complete victory. Though Grey and the cavalry fled at the beginning of the action, the undisciplined infantry gallantly maintained the combat for three hours; and the duke himself, beside his errors in generalship, quitted the field too early for an adventurer contending for a crown¹¹. About fourteen hundred of the rebels were killed in the battle and pursuit, and nearly an equal number made prisoners.

The duke, with a single attendant, fled to a considerable

¹⁰ Burnet.—Kennet.—Ralph.

¹¹ Burnet, book iv.

distance from the scene of action. He changed clothes with a peasant, in order to conceal himself from his pursuers; but he was at length found in a ditch, covered with fern. He had in his pocket some green peas, which had been his only food for several days; and his spirits being exhausted with hunger and fatigue, he burst into tears, and behaved otherwise in a manner unworthy of his character. Even on his arrival in London, allured by the fond hope of life, he was induced to make the meanest submissions, in order to procure a pardon¹²; though he might have been sensible, from the greatness of his offence, and the king's unfeeling disposition, that he could expect no mercy. When that hope failed him, he behaved with becoming dignity; and discovered great firmness and composure at his execution, though accompanied with many horrid circumstances¹³.

Had James used his victory with moderation, this fortunate suppression of a rebellion in the beginning of his reign would have tended much to strengthen his authority; but the cruelty with which it was prosecuted, and the delusive prospects which it opened to his zeal for popery and unlimited power, proved the chief cause of his ruin. Such arbitrary principles had the court infused into its servants, that the earl of Feversham, immediately after the battle of Sedgemoor, and while the soldiers were yet fatigued with slaughter, ordered above twenty of the insurgents to be hanged, without any form of trial. But this instance of illegal severity was forgotten in the more atrocious inhumanity of colonel Kirk, whose military executions were attended with circumstances of wanton barbarity. On his first entry into Bridgewater, he not only hanged nineteen prisoners without the least inquiry

12 Burnet, book iv.—*Memoirs of James*.

13 Touched with pity, or unmanned by terror, at the noble presence of Monmouth, and the part he was to perform, the executioner struck him three times, without effect; and then threw aside the axe, declaring that he was unable to finish the bloody office. The sheriff obliged him to renew the attempt, and the duke's head was at last severed from his body.

into the nature of their guilt, but ordered a certain number to be executed while he and his company should drink the king's health; and observing their feet to quiver, in the agonies of death, he commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound, saying he would give them music to their dancing¹⁴.

Even the inhumanities of Kirk were exceeded by the violence of judge Jeffreys, who showed the astonished nation, that the rigours of law may equal, if they do not often exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. A special commission being issued to this man, whose disposition was brutal and arbitrary, and who had already given several specimens of his character, he set out, accompanied by four other judges, with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death. He opened his commission first at Winchester, whence he proceeded to Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, diffusing terror and consternation around him. The juries, struck with his menaces, gave their verdict with hurry and precipitation; so that many innocent persons are supposed to have suffered. About five hundred prisoners were tried and condemned: of these, two hundred and fifty were executed: the rest were transported, condemned to cruel whippings, or permitted, as is said, to purchase their pardon of the tyrannical and prostitute chief-justice¹⁵.

14 Burnet.—Kennet.—Ralph.—One story, commonly told of Kirk, is memorable in the history of human treachery and barbarity. A beautiful maiden, bathed in tears, threw herself at his feet, and pleaded for the life of her brother. The brutal tyrant, inflamed with desire, but not softened into pity, promised to grant her request, provided she would yield to his wishes. She reluctantly complied with the cruel request, without reflecting that the wretch who could make it was unworthy of credit or confidence. But she had soon reason to know it. After passing the night with him, the wanton and perfidious savage showed her in the morning, from the bed-room window, that beloved brother, for whom she had sacrificed her innocence, hanging on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be erected for the purpose! Rage, indignation, and despair, at once took possession of her soul, and deprived her for ever of her senses.

15 Ralph.—Kennet.—What rendered these severities less excusable, was, that most of the prisoners were persons of low condition, who could never have disturbed the tranquillity of government. Burnet, book iv.

As if desirous of taking upon himself the odium of these rigorous executions, the king rewarded the inhumanity of Jeffreys with a peerage and the office of chancellor; and, on the meeting of parliament, he more fully
Nov. 9. opened the eyes of the nation, and proceeded to realise those apprehensions which had excited the violence of the exclusionists. He plainly told the two houses, that the militia, in which the nation trusted, having been found, during the late rebellion, altogether insufficient for the safety of government, he had increased the regular forces to double their former number; and he demanded a fresh supply for the support of this additional force. He also took notice, that he had *dispensed* with the test-act, in favour of some Catholic officers; and, to cut short all opposition, he declared, that, having employed them to advantage in the time of need and danger, he was determined neither to expose them afterwards to disgrace, nor himself to the want of their service¹⁶.

If James had used his dispensing power without declaring it, it is probable that no opposition would have been made to this dangerous exercise of prerogative by the present obsequious parliament. But at once to invade the civil constitution, threaten the established religion, maintain a standing army, and require the concurrence of the two houses in all these measures, exceeded the bounds of their patience. The commons took into consideration his majesty's speech: they proceeded to examine the dispensing power of the crown; and they voted an address to the king against it. The lords appointed a day for taking the speech into consideration; and James, afraid that they also would make an application against his dispensing power, immediately proceeded to a prorogation; so imperious was his temper, so lofty the idea which he entertained of his own authority, and so violent were the measures suggested by his own bi-

gotry and that of his priests¹⁷. By four more prorogations, he continued the parliament during a year and a half; but having in vain tried, by separate applications, to break the firmness of the leading members, he at last dissolved that assembly; and as it seemed impossible for him to find among his Protestant subjects a set of men more devoted to royal authority, it was concluded that he intended thenceforth to govern wholly without a parliament.

His disappointment in England did not divert him from pursuing the same views in Scotland; and the implicit submission exhibited by the northern parliament at its first meeting flattered him with the most pleasing hopes of success. But experience soon convinced him, that those men who had resigned their political freedom with so much seeming indifference, were not to be persuaded to endanger the Protestant faith. Though he demanded, in the most soothing expressions, some indulgence for the Catholics, and supported this request with proposals of advantage to the Scottish nation, the parliament showed no inclination to repeal any of the penal laws. A. D. 1686. It was therefore prorogued by the commissioner, and soon after dissolved by the king¹⁸.

Resolute, however, in his purpose, this misguided monarch, in contempt of the general voice of the legislative body of the two kingdoms, determined to support his prerogative of dispensing with the penal statutes against sectaries, by the authority of Westminster-hall. With that view, four judges were displaced, and men of more compliant tempers substituted in their room. A case in point was produced; and the chief-justice Herbert upon the issue declared, that there was *nothing* whatever with which the *King*, as *supreme Law-giver*, might not *dispense*. This decision was confirmed by eleven out of the twelve judges. But the arguments of lawyers,

17 Hume, vol. viii.

18 Burnet.—Wodrow.

founded upon ancient precedents, had no influence upon the sentiments of the nation. Men in general could not distinguish between a dispensing and a repealing power in the crown; and they justly deemed it unreasonable, that less authority should be necessary to repeal than to enact any statute. If one penal law was dispensed with, any other might undergo the same fate; and by what principle could even the laws that define property, be afterward secured from violation?—The test-act had ever been considered as the great barrier of the national religion under a popish successor. As such it had been insisted on by the parliament, as such granted by the late king; and as such, during the debates upon the bill of exclusion, it had been recommended by the chancellor. By what magic then, it was asked, by what chicane of law, is it now annihilated, and rendered of no validity¹⁹?

Fortified with the opinion of the judges in favour of his dispensing power, James now thought himself authorised to countenance more openly his religious friends. The earl of Powis, the lords Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover, all zealous Catholics, and who had long managed in private the affairs of the nation, in conjunction with the earl of Sunderland, were publicly received at the council-board. Bellasis, soon after, was placed at the head of the treasury, and Arundel succeeded Halifax in the office of privy-seal. The king's apostolical enthusiasm, in a word, which seemed to have divested him of common prudence, rendered him so desirous of making proselytes, that all men plainly saw the only way to acquire his favour and confidence was to embrace the Catholic faith. Sunderland affected such a change; and, in Scotland, the earls of Murray, Perth, and Melfort, were brought over to the religion of the court²⁰.

These were bold advances; but it was yet only in Ire-

¹⁹ Sir Robert Atkins.—Burnet.—Hume.

²⁰ Burnet, book iv.—James II. 1686.

land, where the majority of the people were always attached to the Romish communion, that the king thought himself at liberty wholly to pull off the mask, and proceed to the full extent of his zeal and violence. On the accession of James, the duke of Ormond had been recalled from the government of that kingdom; and, after the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, orders were sent to the lords-justices, under colour of preventing a like insurrection, to seize the arms of the Irish militia, who were all Protestants, and deposit them in different magazines. Nor did the vigilance of government stop here. Talbot, a violent papist, having been created earl of Tyrconnel, and appointed lieutenant-general of the king's forces in Ireland, dismissed near three hundred Protestant officers, and a great number of private men, under pretence of new-modeling the army. The earl of Clarendon went over as lord-lieutenant; but, as he had refused to oblige the king by changing his religion, he soon found that he possessed no credit or authority. He was even a kind of prisoner in the hands of the general; and as he strenuously opposed the violent measures of the Catholics, he was soon recalled, and Tyrconnel substituted in his place²¹. The unhappy Protestants now saw all the civil authority, as well as the military force, transferred into the hands of their inveterate enemies, and dreaded a renewal of massacre. Great numbers, filled with such apprehensions, left their habitations, and came over to England; where the horror against popery was already roused to the highest pitch, by the frightful tales of the French refugees, who, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, had fled from the persecutions of Louis XIV.

The more moderate Catholics were sensible that these extravagant measures would ruin the cause which they were intended to serve. But the king was so entirely governed by the violent counsels of his queen, an Italian

21 Clarendon's *Letters*.

princess, and by those of father Petre his confessor, that the boldness of any measure seems to have been with him a sufficient reason for adopting it. He now not only re-established the court of high-commission, but A.D. 1687. issued a declaration of general indulgence, or liberty of conscience, “by his sovereign authority, and “*absolute power*,” to his subjects of all religions²². Such an indulgence, though illegal, might have been considered as liberal, if the king’s private purpose, the more ready introduction of popery, had not been generally known. Yet so great was the satisfaction arising from present ease, and so violent the animosity of the Protestant sectaries against the established church, that they received the royal proclamations with expressions of joy and exultation²³.

If the dissenters were ever deceived in regard to James’s views, he took care soon to open their eyes, and to display his bigotry and imprudence to all Europe. He dispatched the earl of Castlemain ambassador-extraordinary to Rome, to reconcile his kingdoms, in form, to the holy see; and although Innocent XI. very justly concluded, that a scheme conducted with such indiscretion could not be successful, he sent a nuncio to England, in return for the embassy. All communication with the pope had been made treason by act of parliament: but so little regard did James pay to the laws, that he gave the nuncio a public audience at Windsor; and the duke of Somerset being then in waiting, as one of the lords of the bed-chamber, was deprived of all his employments, because he refused to assist at the illegal ceremony. The nuncio afterwards resided openly in London. Four Catholic bishops were consecrated at the king’s chapel, and sent out under the title of *vicars apostolical* to exercise the episcopal function in their respective dioceses. The Jesuits were permitted to erect a chapel and form a college in the Savoy; the Recollects built a chapel in Lincoln’s

22 Burnet, book iv.

23 Id. *ibid*.

Inn Fields; the Carmelites formed a seminary in the city; fourteen monks were settled at St. James's; in different parts of the country, places of public worship were erected by the papists; and the religious of the Romish communion appeared at court in the habits of their respective orders²⁴.

Nothing now remained for James, who had already transferred almost every great office, civil and military, in the three kingdoms, from the Protestants to their spiritual enemies, but to throw open the doors of the church and universities to the Catholics: and this attempt was soon made. The king sent a letter to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, commanding the admission of one Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of master of arts, without the usual oaths. A refusal was given; and the king, after suspending the vice-chancellor, desisted from farther attacks upon that university²⁵. But the compliant temper of the university of Oxford, which had, in a formal degree, made profession of *passive obedience*, gave James hopes of better success there, though he carried still higher his pretensions.

The presidency of Magdalen college (one of the richest foundations in Europe), having become vacant, one Farmer, a recent convert to popery, was recommended by a royal mandate, accompanied with a dispensation from the usual oaths. The fellows of that society entreated the king to recall his mandate, or recommend some person more worthy of the office than Farmer; but the day of election arriving before they received any answer, they chose Dr. Hough, a man of learning, virtue, and spirit, who braved the threatening danger.

A citation was issued for the members of the college to appear before the court of high-commission, and answer for their disobedience. The matter came to a regular hearing; and such articles of folly and vice were proved

24 Ralph.—Kennet.—Hume.

25 Kennet.—Ralph.

against Farmer, as justified the fellows in rejecting him, without having recourse to the legal disqualifications under which he laboured. The commissioners, however, proceeded to the deprivation of Dr. Hough, and a new mandate was issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford; a man of dissolute morals, but who, like Farmer, had atoned for all his vices by his willingness to embrace the Romish religion. The society replied, that no new election could be made till the former should be *legally* annulled. A new ecclesiastical commission was issued for that purpose; and the commissioners, attended by three troops of horse, repaired to Oxford; expelled the refractory president and all the fellows, except two, who had uniformly adhered to the king's mandate; and installed Parker in the presidency of the college²⁵.

Of all the acts of violence committed during the tyrannical reign of James, this may perhaps be considered as the most illegal and arbitrary. It accordingly occasioned great discontent, and gave a general alarm to the clergy. The church, the chief pillar of the throne, and which, during the two last reigns, had supported it with such unshaken firmness; the church, which had carried the prerogative so high, and which, if protected in her rights, would have endeavoured still more to exalt it; the church, now seeing those rights invaded, and her very fountains in danger of being poisoned, took refuge in the generous principles of liberty, and resolved to maintain that constitution which her courtly subserviency had almost ruined.

The king, however, was determined to adhere to his arbitrary measures; and as a balance to this reverend body, whose opposition he had wantonly roused, he endeavoured to gain the Protestant dissenters, and to form an unnatural coalition between them and the Catholics.

²⁵ Burnet, book iv.—MS. Account by Dr. Smith, in Macpherson's *Hist. of Brit.* vol. i.—Hume, vol. viii.

With that view, he took occasion frequently to extol the benefits of toleration, and to exclaim against the severities of the church of England. He commanded an inquiry to be made into all the oppressive prosecutions which the dissenters had suffered, as a prelude to yielding them security or redress; and by means of that ascendancy which the crown had acquired over the corporations, he thrust many of them into the magistracy, under various pretences, in hopes of being able to procure a parliament that would give its sanction to the repeal of the test-act and the penal laws against non-conformity. He affected to place them on the same footing with the Catholics; and, to widen the breach between them and the church, whose favour he despaired of recovering, but whose loyalty he never suspected, he issued a new declaration of indulgence, and ordered it to be read A.D. 1688, in all the pulpits²⁷.

This order was considered as an insult on the hierarchy, and an insidious attempt to draw its members into disgrace; for, as the penal laws against non-conformists had, in a great measure, been procured by the church, the clergy were sensible, that any countenance which they might give to the dispensing power would be regarded as a desertion of their fundamental principles. They determined, therefore, rather to hazard the vengeance of the crown, by disobedience, than fulfil a command they could not approve, and expose themselves, at the same time, to the certain hatred and contempt of the people.

Conformably to this resolution, and with a view to encourage every one to persevere in it, six bishops (namely, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol), met at Lambeth, and concerted with the primate Sancroft the form of a petition to the king, beseeching him not to insist upon their reading the

declaration, as it was founded on a prerogative repeatedly declared illegal by parliament. Enraged at this unexpected opposition to his favourite measure, James ordered them to be committed to the Tower, on their refusing to give bail for their appearance before the court of King's Bench, to answer for what was denominated a high misdemeanour, and was afterwards treated as a libel²⁸.

James was not insensible of the danger of continuing this tyrannical prosecution, though his pride would not allow him to desist. But the circumstances attending the commitment of the bishops ought still farther to have opened his eyes, and made him perceive the dreadful precipice upon which he was rushing. As they were carried by water to the Tower, multitudes of anxious spectators crowded the banks of the river, and at once implored the blessing of those venerable prelates, and offered their petitions to Heaven for the safety of the persecuted guardians of their religion. Even the soldiers, seised with the contagion of the same spirit, are said to have craved, on their knees, the benediction of the holy prisoners whom they were appointed to guard²⁹.

A like scene was exhibited, when the bishops were conducted to trial. Persons of all conditions were affected with the awful crisis to which affairs were reduced, and considered the decision of the cause depending, as of the utmost importance to both king and people. The marquis of Halifax, the earls of Bedford and Shrewsbury, and twenty-six other temporal peers, attended the prisoners to Westminster-hall; and such crowds of gentry joined in the procession, that little room was left for the populace to enter. The trial, which lasted near ten hours, was managed with ability by the counsel on both sides, and listened to with the most eager attention. Though the judges held their seats only during pleasure, two of

them had the courage to declare against a dispensing power in the crown, as inconsistent with all law: and if the dispensing power was not legal, it followed of course, that the bishops could not be criminal in refusing obedience to an illegal command. The jury at length withdrew: and when they brought in their verdict, June 30. "Not Guilty," the populace, who filled Westminster-hall and all Palace-yard, shouted thrice with such vehemence, that the sound reached the city³⁰. The loudest acclamations were immediately echoed from street to street, bonfires were lighted, and every other demonstration given of public joy. Nor were the rejoicings on account of this legal victory confined to the capital: they rapidly spread over the whole kingdom, and found their way even into the camp³¹; where the triumph of the church was announced to the king in the shouts of his mercenary army³².

If James had made use of that naturally sound, though narrow, understanding, with which he was endowed, he would now have perceived, that the time was come for him to retract, unless he meant seriously to sacrifice his crown to his religious prejudices. But he was so blinded by bigotry, and so obstinate in his arbitrary measures,

30 Price to Beaufort, June 30, 1688, MS. in Macpherson's *Hist. of Brit.* vol. i.

31 Burnet, book iv.

32 To convince the people that he was determined to support his authority by force of arms, if necessary, and to over-awe them by a display of his power, the king had, for two summers past, encamped his army, to the number of fifteen thousand men, on Hounslow-heath. He spent much of his time in training and disciplining these troops; and a popish chapel was erected in the midst of the camp, with a view of bringing over the soldiers to that communion. But the few converts that the priests made, were treated with such contempt and ignominy by their companions, as deterred others from following the example. The king had reviewed his army on the same morning that the jury gave their verdict in favour of the prelates; and having afterward retired into the tent of the earl of Feversham, he was suddenly alarmed with a great uproar in the camp, attended with the most extravagant expressions of tumultuous joy. He anxiously inquired the cause; and the earl replied, that "it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops."—"And do you call that nothing?" exclaimed James, ready to burst with rage and indignation.

that, although he knew they were execrated by all orders of men in the state, a few Catholics excepted, he was, from a singular infatuation, incapable even of remitting his violence in the pursuit of them. He immediately displaced the two judges who had given their opinion in favour of the bishops; issued orders to the ecclesiastical commissioners to prosecute all the clergy who had not read his declaration (that is, the whole body of the church of England, except about two hundred); and sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen college, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne; and he is said to have nominated the same person to the see of Oxford³³.

Such violent and repeated infringements of the constitution could not fail to alarm the whole nation. Even the most candid and moderate men now ascribed the king's measures to a settled system for the introduction of popery and despotism; and the only consolation to the public was the advanced age of the king, with the prospect of a Protestant successor, who would replace every thing on ancient foundations. This consideration, together with the great naval and military force of James, kept the more ardent spirits from having immediate recourse to arms; and the prince of Orange, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the English mal-contents, and was ready on any emergency to obey the call of the nation, seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of an open rupture, and to wait patiently for an event that could not be very distant,—the death of James.

But these hopes, both at home and abroad, were suddenly blasted by the birth of a prince of Wales. From a son, educated by such a father, nothing could be expected but a continuance of the same unconstitutional.

measures. People of all ranks took the alarm, as if a regular plan had been formed for entailing popery and arbitrary power on them and their descendants to the latest posterity. Calumny went even so far, though the queen's delivery was as public as the laws of decency would permit, that the king was accused of imposing upon the nation a supposititious child, who might support, after the death of James, the Catholic religion in his dominions. And the prince of Orange did not fail to propagate the improbable tale; which, in the present state of men's minds, was greedily received by the populace both in England and Holland³⁴.

Under these apprehensions, many of the English nobility and gentry, and some of the principal clergy, invited the prince to come over and assist them, by arms, in the recovery of their constitutional rights. In this invitation men of opposite parties concurred³⁵. The Whigs, conformably to those patriotic principles which had led them to urge the bill of exclusion, were eager to expel from the throne a prince whose conduct had fully justified all that their fears had predicted of his succession: the Tories, enraged at the preference shown to the Catholics—and the church, inflamed by recent injuries—resolved to pull down the idol that their own hands had made, and which they had blindly worshiped. Their eyes being now opened, they saw the necessity of restoring and securing the constitution. And the Protestant non-conformists, whom the king had gained by his indulgence, judged it more prudent to look forward for a general toleration, to be established by law, than to rely any longer on the insidious caresses of their theological adversaries.—Thus, my dear Philip, by a wonderful coalition, was faction for a time silenced; all parties sacrificing, on this occasion, their former animosities, to the

34 Burnet, book iv.

35 Burnet.—Dalrymple's *Memoirs*.

apprehension of a common danger, or to the sense of a common interest³⁶. The Revolution, even in its beginning, was a national work; and patriotism, under the guidance of political wisdom, suggested the glorious plan.

Not satisfied with a formal invitation, several English noblemen and gentlemen went over to Holland, and in person encouraged the prince of Orange to attempt their deliverance from popery and arbitrary power. The request was too flattering to be slighted. William, from the moment of his marriage with Mary, had kept his eye on the crown of England; though he had a complicated scheme of policy to conduct, and many interfering interests to reconcile on the continent. Happily these interests conspired to promote his proposed enterprise. The league of Augsburg, formed to break the power of France, could not accomplish its object without the accession of England. The house of Austria, therefore, in both its branches, and even pope Innocent XI., preferring their political views to their zeal for the Catholic faith, countenanced the projected expulsion of James, who had refused to take part in the league, as the only means of humbling Louis, their common enemy. The majority of the German princes were in the same interest; and the prince of Orange held conferences, not only with Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, but with the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the whole house of Lunenburg. It was agreed that these princes should protect the United Provinces during the absence of William³⁷.

Other circumstances contributed to facilitate the designs of the prince of Orange. The elector of Cologne (who was also bishop of Liege and Munster) having died about this time, a violent contest arose for so valuable

36 For a more full account of this coalition, see Bolingbroke's *Dissertation on Parties*, Let. vii. and Hume, vol. viii.

37 Burnet, book iv.—D'Avaux, tome iv.

a succession. The candidates were prince Clement of Bavaria, supported by the house of Austria, and the cardinal de Fürstemberg, a prelate dependent on France. The former at length prevailed; and, as Louis threatened to recover by force what he had lost by intrigue, the prince of Orange formed a camp, between Grave and Nimeguen, of twenty thousand men, under pretence of guarding against danger on that side. Upon other pretences, he forwarded his preparations by sea; and had equipped for service twenty ships of the line, without having recourse to the states³⁸. But the states, though not formally admitted into the secret counsels of William, could not be ignorant of his real views; and the body of the people, being highly irritated against France, exhibited the utmost eagerness for warlike attempts. The commerce of the Dutch with that kingdom had lately been diminished in the proportion of one-fourth, by unusual restrictions; their religious rage was kindled by the cruelties which Louis inflicted on the Protestants: the terrors raised by the bigotry of James in England had also spread to Holland; and the enthusiastic zeal of these potent monarchs for the Catholic faith was represented, in both countries, as the certain ruin of the Protestant cause, unless restrained by the most vigorous exertions—by the united efforts of all the members of the reformed communion³⁹.

While one half of Europe thus combined against the king of England, while many of his own subjects were determined to oppose his power, and more to divest him of his authority, James, as if blinded by destiny, reposed himself in the most supine security, and disregarded the repeated accounts of the preparations conveyed to his ears. In vain did Louis, who had early received certain information of the designs of the prince of Orange, attempt to rouse the infatuated monarch to a sense of his danger: in vain did he offer his aid. Deceived by his ambassador in

³⁸ Burnet.—D'Ayau.

³⁹ Burnet.—Ralph.

Holland, and betrayed by the earl of Sunderland, James had the weakness to believe, that the rumour of an invasion was only raised by his enemies, in order to frighten him into a closer connexion with France, and thus to complete the defection of his subjects⁴⁰. Nor was this jealousy, though carried to an imprudent height, entirely without foundation; for when Louis took the liberty to remonstrate with the states, by his ambassador d'Avaux, against their preparations to invade England, not only the Dutch but the English took the alarm. Their apprehensions of a league between the two monarchs, for the destruction of the Protestant religion, seemed now to be confirmed, and the wildest stories were propagated to that purpose⁴¹.

Had the defection occasioned by these fears been confined to the English populace, or merely to men in a civil capacity, James might still have bidden defiance to the designs of his son-in-law. But, unhappily for that misguided monarch, both the fleet and army were infected with the same spirit of disloyalty. Of this he had received some mortifying proofs, when certain advice was brought him, from his minister in Holland, that he must soon expect a formidable invasion, as the states had at last acknowledged, that the purpose of all their naval preparations was to transport forces into England.

Though James might have foreseen such an attempt, he was much affected with the news: he grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand. His delirium of power vanished; and he found himself on the brink of a terrific precipice, which had hitherto been concealed from his view by the illusions of superstition. He now saw the necessity of providing for his safety, as well as of endeavouring to conciliate the affections of his people. He immediately ordered his fleet to be assembled, and his army to be recruited. He sent for troops from Scotland and Ireland;

40 D'Avaux, tome iv.—James II. 1688.

41 Id. *ibid*.

and, to his no small satisfaction, found his land-forces amount to forty thousand men⁴².

Nor was the king less liberal of his civil concessions than vigorous in his military preparations. He had already issued writs for the speedy meeting of parliament; and these were followed by a declaration, importing that it was his fixed purpose to endeavour to establish a LEGAL settlement of an universal liberty of conscience for his subjects; that he had resolved to preserve inviolate the church of England, and that Catholics should still remain incapable of sitting in the house of commons. He gave orders for the re-instatement of all the deputy-lieutenants and justices who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and the penal laws against non-conformists; restored to the corporations the privileges of which they had been defrauded; annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission; re-established the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen college; and invited again to his councils the bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted, assuring them, that he was ready to do whatever they should think necessary for the security of the Protestant religion and the civil rights of his subjects⁴³.

But these concessions, though important in themselves, were made too late, and were coldly received by the nation; and the conduct of the king, in other respects, did not correspond with such conciliatory measures. He recalled the writs for the meeting of parliament; a step which created general doubts of his sincerity, and begot a belief that all his concessions were no more than temporary expedients. He showed, however, a laudable zeal for his own honour, in obtaining a legal proof of the birth of the prince of Wales; but by an imprudence approaching to insanity, the heir of the crown was baptised in the Romish communion, and the pope, represented by his nuncio, stood god-father to the boy⁴⁴.

42 James II. 1688. 43 *Gazettes*, passim. 44 Burnet, book iv.—James II. 1688.

The prince of Orange continuing his preparations, a powerful fleet was ready to put to sea; the troops fell down the Maes from Nimeguen: the transports, which had been hired at different ports, were speedily assembled: the artillery, arms, ammunition, provisions, horses, and men, were embarked; and William, after taking formal leave of the states, and calling God to witness that he had not the least intention to invade, subdue, or make himself master of the kingdom of England, went himself on board⁴⁵. His armament consisted of fifty stout ships of war, twenty-five frigates, and an equal number of fire-ships; with four hundred transports, carrying about fourteen thousand soldiers. Admiral Herbert, who had left the service of James, led the van; the Zealand squadron, under vice-admiral Evertzen, brought up the rear; and the prince in person commanded in the centre, carrying a flag with English colours, and his own arms surrounded with these popular words—"THE PROTESTANT RELIGION and the LIBERTIES of ENGLAND." Under this inscription was placed the apposite motto of the house of Nassau:—*Je maintiendrai*, "I will maintain"⁴⁶!

This great embarkation, the most important which had, for some ages, been undertaken in Europe, was scarcely completed, when a dreadful tempest arose at south-west, and drove the Dutch fleet to the northward. The storm raged for twelve hours, and the prince was obliged to return to Helvoetsluys. But he soon repaired his damages, and again put to sea. An east wind carried him down the Channel; where he was seen from both shores, between Dover and Calais, by vast multitudes of anxious spectators, who felt alternately the extremes of hope and fear, mingled with admiration, at such a magnificent spectacle. After a prosperous voyage, he landed his army in Torbay, without the smallest opposition either by sea or land⁴⁷.

Nov. 5.

45 Neville, tome i. 46 Burnet, book iv.—D'Avaux, tome iv. 47 Id. *ibid*.

The same wind which favoured the enterprise of the prince of Orange, confined the English fleet to its own coast. Lord Dartmouth, who was inviolably attached to James, lay near Harwich with thirty-eight ships of the line, and twenty-three frigates; a force sufficient to have disconcerted the designs of William, if it could have put to sea; so that the success of the glorious revolution may be said to have depended upon the winds! The destruction of the Dutch fleet, even after the landing of the prince, would have discouraged his adherents, and proved fatal to his undertaking. Sensible of this, Dartmouth came before Torbay, with a fixed resolution to attack the Hollanders, as they lay at anchor. But his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, and forced to return to Spithead, in such a shattered condition, as to be no more fit for service that season⁴⁸. It is no wonder that, after such fortunate circumstances, many of William's followers began to consider him and themselves as the peculiar favourites of Heaven; and that even the learned Dr. Burnet could not help exclaiming, in the words of Claudian,

*O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!*

“Heaven's darling charge! to aid whose great design,
“The fighting skies and friendly winds combine.”

The prince, immediately on his landing, dispersed a printed declaration, which had been already published in Holland, and contributed not a little to his future success. In that elaborate performance, written originally in French, by the pensionary Fagel, and translated into English by Dr. Burnet, the principal grievances of the three British kingdoms were enumerated, namely, the exercise of a dispensing and suspending power; the revival of the court of ecclesiastical commission; the filling of almost all offices

⁴⁸ Burnet, book iv.—Torrington's *Mem.*

with Catholics; the open encouragement given to popery, by building numerous chapels and seminaries for that sect; the displacing of judges, if they gave sentence contrary to the orders or the inclinations of the court; the annulling of the charters of the corporations, so as to subject elections to arbitrary will; the treating of petitions to the throne, even the most modest, and from persons of the highest rank, as criminal and seditious; the commitment of the whole authority in Ireland into the hands of papists; and the assumption of an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland. He concluded with protesting, that the sole object of his expedition was to procure a redress of these grievances from a legal and free parliament, which, besides examining the proofs of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales⁴⁹, might provide for the liberty and security of the nation.

Though this declaration was received with ardour by the nation, the prince, for some time after his landing, could not boast of his good fortune. A great deal of rain

49 The proofs produced by James, in support of the birth of his son, before an extraordinary council, to which the lords both spiritual and temporal were summoned, and at which the mayor and aldermen of London and all the judges were present, were as strong as the case seemed to require. But if any doubts in regard to this matter could still remain in the most prejudiced mind, the declaration of the duke of Berwick, the king's natural son, and a man of unimpeached veracity, would be sufficient to remove them. "I could speak knowingly on the subject," says he, "for I was present; and, notwithstanding my respect and attachment to the king, I could never have consented to so detestable an action, as that of introducing a supposititious child, in order to deprive the true heirs of the crown. Much less should I have continued, after the king's death, to support the pretensions of an impostor: honour and conscience would have restrained me." (*Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, written by himself, vol. i. page 40.) The answer of Anne princess of Denmark (July 4, 1688) to the questions of her sister Mary, relative to the birth of the prince of Wales, is still more satisfactory. Though seemingly disposed to favour the idea of an imposture, she enumerates so particularly, even to *indelicacy*, the *circumstances* attending the queen's *delivery*, and the persons of both sexes present at it (who were many, and of high rank), that it is truly astonishing William should afterward have assigned the illegitimacy of the supposed prince, as one of his reasons for landing in England. (*Dalrymp. Append. part ii.*) See farther, on this much-contested subject, a *Letter from Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne to the princess Sophia*, ubi sup.

having fallen, the roads were rendered almost impassable; and he possessed neither cattle nor carriages sufficient to convey the baggage of his army. He directed, however, his encumbered march to Exeter; but without being joined by any person of eminence, either on his way, or for eight days after his arrival at that place. His troops were discouraged: he himself began to think of abandoning his enterprise; and actually held a council of his principal officers, to deliberate whether he should not re-embark⁵⁰. Impatient of disappointment, he is said even to have publicly declared his resolution to permit the English to settle their own differences with their king, and to direct his father-in-law where to punish, by transmitting to him the secret correspondence of his subjects⁵¹.

The friends of the court exulted at the coldness of William's reception; but their joy was of short duration. One Burrington having shown the example, the prince was joined by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset, and an association was signed for his support. The earl of Abingdon, Mr. Russell, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Howe, and many other persons of influence, repaired to Exeter. All England was soon in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire; the city of York was seized by the earl of Danby; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; and the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby⁵². Every day discovered some new instance of that general confederacy, into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. But the most dangerous symptom, and that which rendered his affairs desperate, was the defection of the army. Many of the principal officers were animated with the prevailing spirit of the nation, and disposed to prefer the interests of their country to

50 *Memoirs of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

52 Ralph.—Kennet.

51 Dalrymple's *Append.*

their duty to their sovereign. Though they might have a due sense of the favours which James had conferred upon them, they were startled at the thought of rendering him absolute master, not only of the liberties, but even of the lives and property of his subjects; yet this, they saw, must be the consequence of suppressing the numerous insurrections, and obliging the prince of Orange to quit the kingdom. They therefore determined rather to bear the reproach of infidelity, than become the instruments of despotism.

The example of desertion, among the officers, was set by lord Colchester, son of earl Rivers, and by lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon. The king was advancing to Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army, when he received this intelligence; yet, as the soldiers in general seemed firm in their allegiance, and the officers in a body expressed their abhorrence of such treachery, he resolved to march boldly against the invaders. But a sudden bleeding at the nose, with which he was seised, occasioned a delay of some days; and farther symptoms of defection appearing among the officers, while the prince of Orange was continuing his progress, he judged it prudent to retire toward London. Lord Churchill, afterward the great duke of Marlborough, and the duke of Grafton, natural son of Charles II., who had given their opinion for remaining at Salisbury, fled under cover of the night to the prince. Successive misfortunes poured in upon the unfortunate monarch. Trelawney, who occupied an advanced post at Warminster, deserted with other officers. Prince George of Denmark, the king's son-in-law, and the young duke of Ormond, left him at Andover. Every day diminished the number of his adherents; and, to increase his accumulated misfortunes, he found at his arrival in London, Nov. 26. that his favourite daughter, the princess of Denmark, had secretly withdrawn herself the night before, in company with lady Churchill. All his firmness of mind

left him; tears started from his eyes; and he broke out into sorrowful exclamations, expressive of a deep sense of his forlorn state. "God help me!" cried he, in the agony of his heart: "my own children have forsaken me⁵³!"

Henceforth, the conduct of the infatuated James is so much marked with folly and pusillanimity, as to divest his character of all respect, and almost his sufferings of compassion. Having assembled, as a last resource, a council of peers, he issued, by their advice, writs for a new parliament; and appointed the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and lord Godolphin, his commissioners, to treat with the prince of Orange. Thinking the season for negotiation past, William continued to advance with his army, at the same time that he amused the commissioners. Though he knew they were friendly to his cause, he long denied them an audience. Meanwhile James, distracted by his own fears, and alarmed by the real or pretended apprehensions of others, sent the queen and his son privately into France, and embraced the extraordinary resolution of following them. He accordingly left his palace at midnight, attended only Dec. 10. by sir Edward Hales; and, in order to complete his imprudence and despair, he commanded the earl of Feversham to disband the army, recalled the writs for the meeting of the parliament, and threw the great seal into the Thames⁵⁴!

These acts of indiscretion and weakness flattered the prince of Orange with the hopes of speedy and complete success. If James had deliberately resolved to place William on the throne, he could scarcely have taken measures more conducive to that end. To prevent the anarchy and disorder which might ensue from this extraordinary abdication, such of the peers as were then in London

53 Burnet, book iv.—*Memoirs of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

54 Burnet.—Echard.

assembled in Guildhall; and erecting themselves into a supreme council, executed all the functions of royalty. They gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city: they issued their commands, which were readily obeyed⁵⁵, to the fleet, to the neglected army of James, and to the garrisons. They ordered the militia to be raised; and they published a declaration, by which they unanimously resolved to apply to the prince of Orange to settle the affairs of the nation, deserted by the king through the influence of his evil counsellors.

William was not backward in assuming that authority, which the imprudence of James had devolved upon him. He exercised various acts of sovereignty; and, to make his presence more welcome in London, he is said to have propagated a report, that the disbanded Irish had taken arms, and commenced a general massacre of the Protestants. Such a rumour, at least, prevailed for a time, and begot universal consternation. The alarm-bells were rung, the beacons fired; and men fancied they saw at a distance the smoke of the burning cities, and heard the dying groans of those who were slaughtered by the enemies of their religion⁵⁶! Nothing less than the approach of the prince of Orange and his Protestant army, it was thought, could save the capital from ruin.

William had reached Windsor, when he was informed that the king had been seised in disguise, by some fishermen, near Feversham in Kent. The intelligence threw all parties into confusion. The prince sent orders to James, not to approach nearer to London than Rochester. But the messenger missed him on the way, and he once more entered his capital amidst the loudest acclamations of joy. The people forgot his misconduct in his misfortunes, and all orders of men seemed to welcome his return⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ *Account of the Revolution, by John duke of Buckingham.*

⁵⁶ *Hist. of the Desertion*, p. 91.

⁵⁷ *Memoirs of James.*

This, however, was only a transient gleam before a new storm. The king was awakened in the night by some noblemen who brought a message from the prince, desiring him to remove to Ham; and, as the Dutch guards had previously taken possession of his palace, and displaced the English, he retired in the morning, intimidated and desponding. Although he was convinced, that he could not do a more acceptable service to his rival, and that he had under-rated the loyalty of his subjects, he still resolved to make his escape to France⁵⁸.

The earls of Arran, Dunbarton, Aylesbury, Litchfield, and Middleton, the gallant lord Dundee, and other officers of distinction, argued strenuously against this resolution. They represented to the king, that the opinions of mankind began already to change, and that events would daily rise in favour of his authority. "The question, sir," urged Dundee, with all his generous ardour, "is whether you will stay in England, or fly to France? Whether you shall trust the returning zeal of your native subjects, or rely on a foreign power?—Here you ought to stand. Keep possession of a part, and the whole will submit by degrees. Resume the spirit of a king; summon your subjects to their allegiance: your army, though disbanded, is not annihilated. Give me your commission, and I will collect ten thousand of your soldiers: I will carry your standard at their head through England, and drive before you the Dutch and their prince." James replied, that he believed it might be done, but that it would occasion a civil war; and he would not do so much mischief to a people who would soon return to their senses. Middleton, who saw the fallacy of this opinion, pressed him to stay, though in the remotest part of his kingdom. "Your majesty," said he, "may throw things into confusion by your departure; but it will be only the anarchy of a month: a new govern-

“ment will soon be settled; and then you and your family
“are ruined for ever⁵⁹.”

But these animated remonstrances could not inspire with new firmness a mind broken by apprehension and terror. Afraid of being taken off either by poison or assassination⁶⁰, and mortified at his present abject condition, James continued to meditate his escape; and as the back-door of the house in which he lodged at Rochester was intentionally left without any guard, he found no difficulty in

accomplishing his design. He privately withdrew
Dec. 23. at midnight, accompanied by the duke of Berwick, and went on board a large sloop which waited for him in the river Medway. After some obstructions, he safely arrived at Ambleteuse, in Picardy, whence he hastened to St. Germain's, where the queen and the prince of Wales had already arrived⁶¹.

Thus, my dear Philip, ended the reign of James II.; a prince not destitute of virtue or abilities, but who, as you have seen, was so enslaved by the Romish superstition, and blinded with the love of arbitrary power, that he obstinately violated the civil and religious constitution of his country; and was, therefore, justly deprived of the throne. Who had a right to fill that throne? is a question which we shall afterward have occasion to discuss. In the mean time, I must take notice of the progress of the prince of Orange; observing by the way, that whatever restraints might have been imposed on the regal authority which had been abused, only the king's desertion of his people, though he was in some measure deserted by them, could have occasioned the loss of his crown, or have changed the line of succession.

The same day that James left Whitehall, William arrived at St. James's. It happened to rain very heavily, and yet great numbers came to see him. But, after they

59 Macpherson's *Original Papers*, 1688.

60 *Memoirs of James*.

61 *Memoirs of James and of the duke of Berwick*.

had stayed long in the wet, he disappointed them. Being an enemy to show and parade, perhaps from a consciousness of his ungraceful figure, and dead to the voice of popular joy, he went through the park to the palace. Even this trifling incident contributed to alter the sentiments of the people, and, being now cool, they judged more impartially. They considered it as cruel and unnatural for the prince of Orange to rouse his father-in-law out of his sleep, and force him from his own palace, when he was ready to submit to every thing: they began even to suspect that this *specious undertaking* would prove to be only a *disguised and designed usurpation*. The public bodies, however, waited upon the prince, and expressed their zeal for his cause; and, among others, the gentlemen of the law, with old serjeant Maynard at their head; who, when William took notice of his great age, and said he must have outlived all the lawyers of his time, wittily replied, “I should have outlived the law itself, if your highness had not come over⁶²!”

The only thing that now remained for all parties was the settlement of the kingdom. With this view, the peers met in their own house, and deliberated on the prince's declaration. In the course of debate it was urged, that the king, by withdrawing, had divested himself of his authority, and that government itself had suffered a demise in law⁶³. A free parliament was, therefore, declared to be the only means of obtaining a legal settlement; and the result of the whole was, that an address should be presented to the prince, desiring him to assume the administration of affairs, and to summon a convention. The offer was too alluring to be rejected; but William, cautious in all his proceedings, judged it necessary to strengthen the resolution of the lords with the authority of the commons. For that purpose, a judicious expedient was adopted. All the members of the three last parlia-

62 Burnet, book iv.

63 Clarendon's *Diary*, Dec. 26, 1668.

ments, who were in London, were invited to meet, together with the lord-mayor, the court of aldermen, and fifty members of the common-council. This mixed assembly, which was regarded as the most equal representation of the people that could be obtained in the present emergency, unanimously voted an address, the same in substance with that of the lords; and the prince, supported by so respectable a part of the nation, dispatched circular letters to all parts of England and Wales, for an election of representatives of the counties, cities, and boroughs⁶⁴.

While the Revolution thus approached to maturity in England, the people of Scotland were not idle spectators. The presbyterians in that kingdom, who had long been persecuted and oppressed, composed the bulk of the nation; and as the prince of Orange was of their persuasion, the most fervent prayers were offered up for his success, as soon as his designs were known. He had undertaken to deliver Scotland as well as England; and, in order to facilitate his views, the popular party, on receiving his declaration, dissolved the few regular troops that remained
Jan. 7, in the kingdom, and assumed the reins of go-
1689. vernment. Thirty noblemen, and about eighty gentlemen, repaired to London; and forming themselves into a kind of convention, requested the prince to take into his hands the administration of Scotland. He thanked them for the trust they had reposed in him, and summoned a general convention to meet at Edinburgh. This assembly being regarded as illegal by the more zealous royalists, they took little share in the elections; so that the popular party, or the Whigs, were returned for most places. The proceedings of the members of the Scottish convention were accordingly bold and decisive. They ordered, by proclamation, all persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty to be ready to take arms: they gave the command of the militia to sir Patrick Hume, one of their

64 Burnet, ubi sup.—Ralph.

most active leaders : they raised eight hundred men for a guard, under the earl of Leven ; they empowered the duke of Hamilton, their president, to secure all disaffected and suspected persons ; and, without amusing themselves with nice distinctions, and the latent meaning of the words, they resolved, “ That king James, by mal-administration, “ and by his abuse of power, had *forfeited* his *right* to the “ crown.” They therefore declared the throne *vacant*, and invited the prince and princess of Orange to take possession of it, though not without due attention to their civil and religious rights⁶⁵.

In the mean time, the English convention had met ; and after a long debate, the commons voted without a division, that king James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, by breaking the *original contract* between *king* and *people* ; and having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself from the kingdom ; had *abdicated* the government ; and that the throne had thus become *vacant*⁶⁶. This memorable resolution being communicated to the peers, warm debates ensued. The most curious discussion was, whether any original contract subsisted between the king and the people ; a question more fit for the schools than a national assembly, but which the vote of the commons had rendered necessary. Arguments may surely be produced from reason, to prove a kind of tacit compact between the sovereign and the subject ; but a regular agreement of this kind has seldom had existence. The English national charters, however, seemed to realise such a compact ; and these charters had all been recognised and confirmed by the Bill of Rights, a solemn transaction between Charles I., the nobles, and the representatives of the people. The majority of the lords, therefore, declared for an original contract ; and it was also

⁶⁵ *Minutes of the Convention*, by lord Balcarras.—Burnet, book iv. v.

⁶⁶ *Journals of the Commons*, Jan. 28, 1689.

the general opinion of the assembly, that James had *broken* that *contract*⁶⁷.

The opposition, however, did not end here. The lords proceeded to take into consideration the word *abdicated*, contained in the vote of the commons; and, after some debate, agreed that *deserted* was more proper. They debated the question of vacancy with great warmth; and on a division, a majority of eleven voices pronounced against it. To settle the controversy which thus arose, a free conference was appointed between the two houses.

Never perhaps was there a national debate of greater importance, or managed by more able speakers. The leaders of the commons contended, that although the word *deserted* might be more significant and intelligible, as applied to the king's withdrawing himself, it could not, with any propriety, be extended to his violation of the fundamental laws. The managers for the lords, changing their ground, insisted, that, even if the king's abuse of power should be admitted to be equivalent to an abdication, it could not operate otherwise than his voluntary resignation or natural death, and could only make way for the next heir; who, though they did not name him, they insinuated, being yet an infant in the cradle, could have committed no crime; and no just reason, they thought, could be assigned, why, without any default of his own, he should lose a crown to which he was entitled by his birth. The leaders of the commons replied, that the oath of allegiance, which binds the subject to the heirs of the king as well as to himself, regarded only a natural demise, and that there was no provision in law for a civil demise, which seemed equivalent to an attainder; that although upon the death of a king, whose administration had been agreeable to the laws, the public would endure many and great inconveniences, rather than exclude the lineal suc-

67 *Journals of the Lords*, Jan. 30.

cessor; yet when, as in the present case, the people, on the principle of self-preservation, had been obliged to have recourse to arms, in order to dethrone a prince who had violated the constitution, the government reverted, in some measure, to its first principles, and the community acquired a right of providing for the public welfare by the most rational expedients.

The members of the convention might surely establish a new precedent, as well as their ancestors. Never could a more fair representation of the people be obtained; and the people, it must be allowed, though they cannot deliberate in a body, have a right, on every revolution, and whenever their constitutional liberties are invaded, to choose their own governors, as well as the form of government under which they desire to live, unless the monstrous doctrine of MANY made for ONE should be revived. The two houses, however, parted without coming to any conclusion; but as it was impossible for the nation to remain long in its present state, the majority of the peers, in consequence of the desertion of some Tories to the Whig party, at last agreed to pass the vote of the commons, without any alteration or amendment⁶⁸.

This grand point being settled, the next question was, "Who should fill the vacant throne?" The marquis of Halifax, in order to recommend himself to the future sovereign, moved that the crown should be immediately conferred upon the prince of Orange. The earl of Danby, his political rival, proposed to confer it solely on the princess; while the Tories contended for a regency⁶⁹.

⁶⁸ *Journals of the Lords*, Feb. 6.

⁶⁹ During all these debates, it seems extraordinary, that no inquiry was made concerning the birth of the prince of Wales, particularly as such an inquiry had been expressly mentioned by the prince of Orange in his Declaration. The reasons assigned by Burnet for this neglect, though plausible, are by no means conclusive. (*Hist. Own Times*, book iv.) The only substantial reason for such omission seems to be, that the Whigs, finding it impracticable to prove an imposture even by presumptive evidence, judged it prudent to let the matter rest in obscurity.

William, who had hitherto behaved with great moderation and magnanimity, avoiding all interference in the debates of either house, and disdaining to court those members whose influence might be useful to him, now perceiving that he was likely to lose the great object of his ambition, broke through that mysterious reserve, and seeming apathy, in which he had been so long wrapped. He sent for Halifax, Shrewsbury, Danby, and other leading men, and told them, that he had heard some were inclined to place the government in the hands of a regent. He would not, he said, oppose the measure; but he thought it necessary to inform them, that he would not be THAT regent. Others, he added, seemed disposed to place the princess singly on the throne, and suffer him to reign by her courtesy. This he also declined; protesting that he could not accept an authority, which should depend on the will or the life of another; that no man could esteem a woman more than he did the princess Mary, but he could not “think of holding any thing by apron-strings;” and therefore, if they would not make a different settlement, he would return to Holland, and concern himself no more in their affairs⁷⁰.

This threat, though not supposed to be altogether sincere, had its weight. Both houses voted, that the prince and princess of Orange should be declared king and queen of England; and a bill was brought in for that purpose. In this bill, or act of settlement, it was ordained, that the prince and princess should enjoy the crown of England during their natural lives and the life of the survivor, the sole administration being in the prince; that, after the death of both, the throne should be filled by the heirs of the body of the princess; and that, in default of such issue, Anne, princess of Denmark, and the heirs of her body, should succeed, before those of the prince of Orange, by

any other wife than Mary⁷¹. Beside regulating the line of succession, the statute provided against the return of those grievances, which had driven the nation to the present extremity; and, although it ought to have been more full on this head, it declared, and seemed effectually to secure from the future encroachments of the sovereign, the most essential rights of the subject.

Thus, my dear Philip, was happily terminated the great struggle between privilege and prerogative, between the people and the crown; which commenced, as you have seen, with the accession of the family of Stuart to the throne of England, and continued till their exclusion, when almost a century had elapsed. The revolution forms a grand æra in the English constitution. By producing the decision of many important questions in favour of liberty, and yet more by the memorable precedent of deposing one king and establishing another, with a new line of succession, it gave such an ascendancy to popular principles, as to put the nature of our government beyond all controversy. A king of England, or of Britain, to use the words of lord Bolingbroke, is now strictly and properly what a king should be; a member, but the supreme member or head, of a political body; distinct from it, or independent of it, in no respect. He can no longer move in a different orbit from his people, and, like some superior planet, attract, repel, and direct their motions by his own. He and they are parts of the same system, intimately joined, and co-operating together; acting and acted upon, limiting and limited, controlling and controlled by, one another; and when he ceases to stand in this relation to them, he ceases to stand in any. The settlements, by virtue of which he governs, are plainly *original contracts*: his institution is plainly *conditional*; and

⁷¹ *Journals of the Lords*, Feb. 7, 1689. In this act was inserted a clause, disabling all papists, or such as should marry papists, from succeeding to the crown; and another was introduced, absolving the subjects, in that case, from their allegiance.

he may forfeit his right to *allegiance*, as undeniably and effectually, as the subject his right to *protection*⁷².

But these advantages, so much and so deservedly praised, and which can never be too highly valued, serve at present only to convince us of the imperfection of all human institutions. Happily poised as our government is, and although the people of this island have enjoyed, since the revolution, the most perfect system of liberty ever known among mankind, the spirit of patriotism (which, as it gave birth to that system, can alone preserve it entire) has continued to decline; and the freedom, though not the form of our constitution, is now exposed to as much danger from the enslaving *influence* of the crown, as ever it was from the invasions of prerogative or the violence of arbitrary power. The nature of this influence, and the mode of its operation, as well as its rise and progress, I shall afterward have occasion to explain.

We should now return to the affairs of the continent; but, for the sake of perspicuity, it will be proper first to relate the efforts of James for the recovery of his throne.

LETTER XVII.

History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Assassination Plot in 1696.

THOUGH the revolution, as we have already seen, my dear Philip, was brought about by a coalition of parties, not by a faction; though Whig and Tory, united by the tyrannical proceedings of James, contributed with their joint efforts to that event, the most glorious in the annals of liberty; yet this union was but the union of a day. No sooner were the Tories freed from the terror of arbitrary

power, than their high monarchical principles began to return. It was the prevalence of these principles in the English convention that occasioned those warm disputes in regard to the vacancy of the throne and the original contract, which, but for the firmness of the Whigs and the spirit of the prince of Orange, would have rendered the great work of reform very imperfect.

Though indisposed, as a body, to the restoration of James, the Tories, enslaved by their political prejudices, were startled at the idea of breaking the line of succession. Hence the ridiculous proposal of a regency. And a party, since properly distinguished by the reproachful appellation of *Jacobites*, secretly lurked among the Tories; a party who, from their attachment to the person or the family of the dethroned monarch, and an adherence to the monstrous doctrines of passive obedience and of divine, indefeasible, hereditary right, wished to bring back the king, and invariably held, that none but a STUART could justly be invested with the regal authority. Of this opinion were all the bigoted high-churchmen and Catholics in the three kingdoms. Among the Whigs, or moderate churchmen and dissenters, in like manner, lurked many enthusiastic republicans, who hoped, in the national ferment, to effect a dissolution of monarchy.

The contest between these parties, fomented by the ambitious views of individuals, which long distracted the English government, and is not yet fully composed, began immediately after the revolution, and threatened the sudden subversion of the new establishment. The silent reserved temper, and solitary disposition of William, early disgusted the citizens of London¹; and the more violent Tories, who had lost all the merit which their party might otherwise have claimed with the king, by opposing the change in the succession, were enraged at seeing the cur-

¹ Burnet, book v.

rent of court favour run chiefly toward the Whigs. The hope of retaining this favour, and with it the principal offices of the state (of which they had been so long in possession, and to which they thought themselves entitled by the antiquity of their families, and their superiority in landed property), was probably their leading motive for concurring in a revolution which they were sensible they could not prevent. But, whatever their motives might be for such co-operation, they had justly forfeited all title to royal favour, by their subsequent conduct, not only in the estimation of William, but of all the zealous lovers of their country. They reverted to ancient prejudices and narrow principles, at a crisis when the nation was ready to embrace the most enlarged way of thinking, with respect both to religion and government.

The clergy were displeased at the general toleration which William, soon after his accession, very prudently as well as liberally, granted to all his Protestant subjects; and still more at an attempt which he made toward a comprehension in England; while the whole episcopal body in Scotland took part with the Jacobites, in consequence of the re-establishment of the presbyterian religion in that kingdom. This establishment, the Scottish convention, which consisted chiefly of presbyterians, had demanded. They connected it intimately with the settlement of the crown²; and this instance of their spirit deserves to be admired. But William had little to fear from that quarter. The presbyterians, who composed about three-fourths of the inhabitants of Scotland, were not only able to defend the new settlement, but willing to do it at the hazard of their lives. The state of Ireland was very different.

The great body of the people in that kingdom were Catholics. The earl of Tyrconnel, a violent papist, was lord-lieutenant; and all employments, civil and military, were in the hands of the same sect. Yet this man, who had in-

duced the infatuated James, by working on his civil and religious prejudices, to invade the privileges of the Irish corporations, in the same manner as those of England had been attacked by Charles II.—and who, under the plausible pretence of relieving some distressed and really injured papists, had prepared a bill for destroying the settlement framed at the Restoration, which would have given to the crown the disposal of the greater part of the landed property of Ireland—this apparently zealous Catholic, and piously loyal subject, is said to have traitorously made an offer of his government to the prince of Orange³; and William is said to have politically refused it, that he might have a decent pretext for keeping up an army, in order to secure the obedience of England, and might be enabled, by Irish forfeitures, to gratify his English and foreign favourites⁴!

But one who lived at the time, who was no friend to William, and who had every opportunity of knowing the character and examining the administration of Tyrconnel, declares that his *firmness* preserved Ireland in the interest of James, and that he *nobly* rejected all the *advantageous offers* which were made to induce him to submit to the prince of Orange⁵: and from the tenour of his conduct, as well as the testimony of other contemporary writers, we may consider his proposals to the prince as only intended to gain time, that he might be enabled to put his government in a better state of defence, and procure assistance from France⁶. William, though somewhat

3 Dalrymple's *Append.*

4 Macpherson's *Hist. of Brit.* vol. i.

5 *Memoirs of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

6 In reasoning so circumstantially on this subject, I am less influenced by a desire of vindicating the conduct of William or of Tyrconnel, than of showing the insufficiency of those *original papers*, which have been so liberally produced of late years, to alter our opinion of the established characters of men: for, as, in the present case, the earl's *offer to negotiate* with William is no *proof* of his being a *traitor* to James; so, in most other cases, our ignorance of the motives of the parties ought to make us suspend our judgement of such doubtful or suspicious evidence. At any rate, these *abortive intrigues*, and insidious anecdotes, which have been brought as

suspicious of his sincerity, did not slight the advances of the lord-lieutenant: he dispatched general Hamilton, his countryman and friend, to treat with him. Hamilton betrayed his trust⁷: Tyrconnel, in conformity with his real views, levied a great number of men, who, having no regular pay, were left to live on the plunder of the Protestants; and these unhappy people, roused by oppression, and fearing a general massacre, flew to arms, and throwing themselves into Londonderry, Enniskillen, and other places of strength, hoped to be able to hold out till they should obtain relief from England⁸.

In the mean time James, who had been received with marks of the most cordial affection by Louis XIV., either from a sympathy of religious sentiments, or with a view of making him subservient to his ambition, was preparing to make a descent in Ireland. Pressed by the solicitations, and encouraged by the favourable representations of Tyrconnel, he embarked at Brest with twelve hundred of his native subjects, one hundred French officers, and some gentlemen of distinction, and landed at Kinsale.

March 12.

Seven battalions of French troops were after-

a charge against so many otherwise unsullied reputations, are more fit for the chronicle of scandal, or the memoirs of individuals, than the page of general history, which they can serve only to contaminate and perplex. Little farther attention shall, therefore, be paid to them in the body of this work; which has chiefly for its object *important events*, with their causes and consequences.

To throw a shade over the brightest characters, cannot surely be a desirable employment for a liberal mind; yet some men of talents have undertaken this invidious task, and prosecuted it with unwearied industry. They who love to contemplate human nature on the dark side, will find sufficient food for their passion in Dalrymple's *Appendix* and Macpherson's *Original Papers*. Happily, however, these papers, contrary to the apparent purpose of the compilers, furnish arguments for the advocates of freedom, as well as the abettors of despotism. I have accordingly used them as a counter-poison.

⁷ This treachery was attended with a very striking circumstance. Sir William Temple's son, who was secretary at war to king William, having engaged himself for the fidelity of Hamilton, was so mortified at his defection, that he put an end to his own life, by leaping out of a boat into the Thames.—Clarendon's *Diary*.

⁸ King's *State of the Protestants in Ireland*.—Burnet.

wards sent over⁹. But these, and all his Irish forces, were by no means sufficient to oppose the veteran army of William.

James and his adherents, however, had other ideas of the matter. Elated at the presence of a prince, who had lost two kingdoms from his predilection for their religion, the Irish Catholics received him with the highest demonstrations of joy. But this rage of loyalty, by involving him in measures subversive not only of the Protestant interest, but of all the laws of justice and humanity, disgraced his character, and proved highly injurious to his cause. A parliament in which he presided, consisting chiefly of Catholics, passed a bill for repealing that act of settlement by which the Protestants had been secured in the possession of their estates; and, by another act, all Protestants who were absent from the kingdom, who did not acknowledge the authority of king James, or who had been in any way connected with rebels from the first day of August in the preceding year, were declared guilty of high treason. The number of Protestants of both sexes attainted by name in this act, nearly amounted to two thousand five hundred. A bill was also enacted for releasing Ireland from all dependence on the English legislature¹⁰.

While James was thus attempting to establish his authority in Ireland, by flattering the prejudices of the natives, William was engaged in managing the English parliament, and in conducting that great system of continental policy, of which he had been so long the centre. To both these ends the violence of the Irish Catholics, their influence with the dethroned monarch, and his throwing himself into their hands, contributed not a little; and William, still farther to quiet and unite the minds of men, as well as to promote his own views, recommended to the parliament an act of general indemnity, and procured an

9 *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

10 Burnet.—King.

address for a declaration of war against France. Both proposals were readily embraced. Inflamed with ancient and hereditary hate, and roused by recent jealousy, the English nation had long been desirous of turning its arms against Louis; and the supposed attachment of James to the French interest, his bigotry not excepted, had been the principal cause of his ruin. Had he acceded to the league of Augsburg, he would never have lost his crown. Threatened by that league, and willing to strike the first blow, Louis had sent an army into the Palatinate, and made himself master of Philipsburg in 1688. This violence, which was immediately succeeded by others, alarmed the emperor, Spain, Holland, and all the confederate powers of the continent. They saw the necessity of having immediate recourse to arms; and the interposition of France in the affairs of Ireland furnished William with a good pretence for throwing the whole weight of England into the hostile scale. The confederacy was now complete.

But the critical state of his new dominions called off the attention of William, for a time, from the continental system. The duke of Gordon still held out the castle of Edinburgh for James; and the viscount Dundee, the soul of the Jacobite party in Scotland, having collected a small but gallant army of Highlanders, threatened with subjection the whole northern part of the kingdom. Dundee, who had publicly disavowed the authority of the Scottish convention, had been declared an outlaw by that assembly; and general Mackay was sent against him with a body of regular troops. The castle of Blair being occupied by the adherents of James, Mackay resolved to attempt its reduction. The viscount, apprised of the design of his antagonist, summoned up all his enterprising spirit, and by forced marches arrived at Athol before him. He was soon informed that Mackay's vanguard had cleared the pass of Killicranky; a narrow defile, formed by the steep sides of the Grampian hills, and a dark, rapid, and deep river. Though chagrined at this

intelligence, he was not disconcerted. He dispatched sir Alexander Maclean to attack the enemy's advanced party, while he himself should approach with the main body of the Highlanders. But before Maclean had proceeded a mile, Dundee received information that Mackay had marched through the pass with his whole army. He commanded Maclean to halt, and boldly advanced with his faithful band to give battle to the enemy.

The commander of William's forces, which consisted of four thousand five hundred foot and two troops of horse, had made dispositions for battle, when Dundee came in view. The viscount's brave but undisciplined followers did not exceed three thousand three hundred men. These he instantly ranged in hostile array. They stood inactive for several hours in sight of the enemy, on the steep side of a hill, which faced the narrow plain where Mackay had formed his line, neither party choosing to change its ground. But the signal for battle was no sooner given, than the Highlanders rushed down the hill in deep columns; and having discharged their musquets with effect, they had recourse to the broadsword, their proper weapon, with which they furiously attacked the enemy. Mackay's left wing was instantly broken, and driven from the field with great slaughter by the Macleans, who formed the right of Dundee's army. The Macdonalds, who composed his left, were not equally successful: colonel Hastings' regiment of English foot repelled their most vigorous efforts, and obliged them to retreat. But Maclean and Cameron, at the head of part of their respective clans, suddenly assailed this gallant regiment in flank, and put it to the rout. Two thousand of Mackay's army were slain; and his artillery, baggage, ammunition, provisions, and even king William's Dutch standard, fell into the hands of the Highlanders. But their joy, like a smile upon the cheek of death, delusive and insincere, was of short duration. Dundee was mor-

tally wounded by a musquet-shot as he was pursuing the fugitives: he expired soon after his victory; and with him perished the hopes of James in Scotland. The castle of Edinburgh had already surrendered to the convention; and the Highlanders, discouraged by the loss of a leader whom they loved and almost adored, gradually dispersed themselves, and returned to their savage mountains, to bewail him in their songs¹¹. His memory is still dear to them; he is considered as the last of their heroes; and his name, even to this day, is seldom mentioned among them without a sigh or a tear¹². He appears indeed to have been a very extraordinary man. Beside great knowledge of the military art, the talent of seising advantages, and the most perfect recollection in battle, he possessed in no common degree, that distinguishing feature of the heroic character, the power of influencing the opinions of others, and of inspiring them with his own ardour.

Fortune did not prove more favourable to the affairs of James in Ireland. His most important enterprise was the siege of Londonderry. He presented himself before that town with a considerable army, commanded by the marechal de Rosen, de Maumont, general Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, and other officers of distinction. But so bold was the spirit of the inhabitants, that, instead of tamely surrendering, they gallantly repelled all attempts to reduce the place, and even annoyed the besiegers with their sallies. At length, however, weakened and distressed by famine, and diminished in number by pestilence, its too common attendant, they were almost reduced to despair. To complete their depression, de Rosen, in the absence of James, collected all the Protestants in the neighbouring country, to the number of four or five thousand, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, and cruelly placed

11 MS. *Accounts* in Dalrymple and Macpherson. Those of Macpherson are chiefly followed in this narration.

12 Macpherson.

them between his lines and the walls of the town; where many of them were suffered to perish with hunger, from a persuasion that the besieged would either relieve their friends or surrender the place. But this barbarous expedient had no such effect: it served only to confirm the inhabitants in their resolution of holding out to the last man. Happily, before their perseverance utterly failed, a reinforcement arrived from England, with ammunition and provisions, and the besiegers thought proper to abandon the undertaking¹³. July 30.

The difficulties of James now crowded fast upon him. Soon after the failure of this enterprise, the marechal, created duke of Schomberg, landed in Ireland with ten thousand men. But the impracticable nature of the country, his inacquaintance with it, and the declining season, prevented that able and experienced general from making any progress before the close of the campaign.

In the next spring, however, though his troops had suffered greatly by disease, he gained some advantages over the Catholics; and William, in order to quicken his operations, and put at once an end to the war, repaired to Ireland with a fresh army. A. D. 1690.

James, on this occasion, embraced a resolution which has been considered as rash, but was worthy of a sovereign contending for his lost kingdom. Though his army was inferior, in number as well as discipline, to that of his rival, he determined to put all to the hazard of a battle. He accordingly took post on the southern bank of the Boyne, and extended his troops in two lines, opposed to the deep and dangerous fords of that river. No position could be more advantageous. A morass defended him on the left, and in his rear lay the village of Dunore, where he had entrenched a body of troops. But all these circumstances, so favourable to James, did not discourage William from seeking an engagement. When he had re-

13 King.—Burnet.—*Memoirs of the duke of Berwick and of James II.*

connoitred the situation of the enemy, he resolved, contrary to the advice of Schomberg, to attack them without delay, though under no necessity of running such

July 1. a risque. His army accordingly passed the river in three divisions, one of which he headed in person. Schomberg, who led another, was killed soon after he had reached the opposite bank, but not before he had broken the Catholic infantry. The Irish cavalry, commanded by general Hamilton and the duke of Berwick, behaved with greater spirit than the foot, but were at last obliged to yield to superior force. General Hamilton was made prisoner; and James, who had shown some courage, but no conduct, retired to Dublin, under the protection of the French auxiliaries, who had not been put into disorder. His loss did not exceed fifteen hundred men; yet was the victory complete, as a great number of the Irish deserted their officers during the following night, and returned to their several homes¹⁴.

The subsequent conduct of James was more blameable than either his precipitancy in hazarding a battle, or his behaviour during the engagement, if we allow both to be deserving of censure. No sooner was he informed of the dispersion of his army than he despondingly gave up Ireland as lost; and leaving the inhabitants of Dublin to make their own conditions with the victorious prince, he embarked for France, though he had many resources left. By bravely collecting his scattered, but not annihilated force, and drawing troops from his different garrisons, independent of new levies, he might have appeared in the field more formidable than ever; whereas his pusillanimous flight, by disheartening his friends, and encouraging his enemies, left but a melancholy prospect to his generals.

But these new resources, and the consequences of neglecting them, did not occur to a mind harassed and dejected by misfortune. Besides, the fugitive monarch tells

14 Ralph.—King.—Duke of Berwick.—James II.

us, that he had hopes of being able to recover the English crown by means of an armament from France, during the absence of William and his veteran troops. These hopes, however, suddenly disappeared; though, on his arrival at Brest, the prospect seemed to brighten. He was there informed, that the French navy had gained a signal victory over the combined fleet of England and Holland, commanded by the earl of Torrington and admiral Evertzen, and that Tourville was riding triumphant in the Channel. All this was nearly true; and a descent in England, in favour of James, might certainly have been made to great advantage, while it was in the power of the French fleet to have prevented the return of William. But the flight of that unfortunate prince from Ireland had so discouraging an aspect, and Louis gave so little credit to the perpetual rumours of insurrections and discontents in England, that he resolved not to risque an army in such an enterprise. He, therefore, turned a deaf ear to all James's proposals for an invasion. He even refused him a small supply of ammunition for the remains of the army in Ireland, saying, that whatever should be sent thither would be so much lost¹⁵. As a proof of his sincerity, he dispatched transports to bring off his own troops. And James, labouring under the deepest mortification and self-condemnation, was made severely sensible, when too late, that a prince, who deserts his own cause, will soon see it deserted by the world.

The Irish, however, though abandoned by their king and his grand ally, did not resign themselves to despondence, or attempt by submissions to conciliate the clemency of their invaders. Seeming ashamed of their misbehaviour at the passage of the Boyne (for it scarcely deserves the name of a battle), and anxious to vindicate their reputation, they every where made a gallant resistance; a circumstance which contributed not a little to aggravate the tormenting reflections of James, by convincing him,

that his adverse fortune was more to be ascribed to his own imprudence than to the disloyalty of his subjects, or their want of zeal in his service.

After visiting Dublin, William advanced with his whole army to invest Limerick, into which the remains of James's infantry had thrown themselves, whilst the cavalry, under the command of Berwick and Tyrconnel, kept the field, in order to convey supplies to the garrison. Limerick is situated on the Shannon, where that river is broad, deep, and rapid. Part of the town stands on the Munster side, part on an island in the Shannon, and the castle on the side of Clare. These three divisions were united by two bridges. William, not daring to cross the Shannon in the face of the enemy's cavalry, invested Limerick only on the south side; so that it was in no danger of being distressed for want of provisions. Aware of this disadvantage, he attempted to carry the place by storm, after having made a practicable breach in the walls. But although ten thousand men, by a kind of surprise, made their way into the town, the Irish charged them with such fury in the streets, that they were driven out with great slaughter¹⁶. Chagrined at his failure in this assault, William raised the siege in disgust, and returned soon after to England¹⁷.

But this repulse, though inglorious to the British monarch, afforded short relief to the adherents of the de-throned prince. Lord Churchill, created earl of Marlborough, who may justly be denominated the evil genius of James, arrived in Ireland with five thousand men. More active and enterprising than William, and even, perhaps, already more deeply skilled in the whole machinery of war, he quickly reduced Cork and Kinsale, though the latter

¹⁶ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

¹⁷ "He gave out, through Europe," says the duke of Berwick, "that continual rains had been the cause of his abandoning the enterprise; but I can affirm that not a drop of rain fell for above a month before, or for three weeks after." *Mem.* vol. i.

made a spirited defence; and having put his army into winter-quarters, returned to England covered with glory¹⁸.

Ireland, however, was not yet subdued. Athlone, Galway, and other places, still held out. Athlone A. D. 1691. was invested by baron Ginckel, who commanded the forces of the new king; and though strongly garrisoned, it was carried by a very bold assault, to the great surprise and mortification of St. Ruth, who commanded the Irish army, and whom Louis had sent over for that purpose at the request of James. Ashamed of that negligence which had suffered the assailants to be so successful, the Catholic general was determined to hazard a battle, and recover his reputation, or lose the kingdom and his life in the attempt. He accordingly took post at Aghrim, where he waited the approach of Ginckel. An engagement ensued, in which the fortune of the day remained long doubtful, but at last declared against St. Ruth. He was killed by a cannon-ball, in bringing forward his body of reserve, and his troops were totally routed¹⁹.

The remains of the Irish forces, and the garrison of Galway, took refuge in Limerick, which was a second time besieged by a great army; and Tyrconnel being dead, the duke of Berwick recalled, and the impossibility of supporting the war evident, the place capitulated, after a siege of about six weeks, and all Ireland submitted to the arms of William²⁰. The terms were highly favourable, not only to the defenders of Limerick, but to all their countrymen in arms. It was agreed that they should receive a general pardon; that their estates should be restored, their attainders annulled, and their outlawries reversed; that the

18 Ralph.—King.—Duke of Berwick.

19 The duke of Berwick was by no means of opinion, that “the crown of Ireland depended on the opportune fall of St. Ruth.” On the contrary, he was convinced that the battle was already lost, and that it was impossible for St. Ruth to have restored it with his body of reserve, which consisted only of six squadrons. *Mem.* vol. i.

20 Burnet.—Ralph.—Duke of Berwick.

Catholics should enjoy the same toleration, with respect to religion, as in the reign of Charles II.; that they should be restored to all the privileges of subjects, on merely taking the oaths of allegiance; and that such as chose to follow the fortunes of James, should be conveyed to the continent at the expense of government²¹.

About ten thousand men took advantage of the last article, and were regimented by the deposed monarch, but paid by the king of France. One of the most distinguished of these refugees was major-general Sarsfield, whom James had created earl of Lucan. He had rendered himself popular among the Catholics by his zeal for their religion, and was exalted in his own opinion, as well as in that of his countrymen, by his success in seising a convoy on its way to the English camp before Limerick. He was, says the duke of Berwick, a man of an amazing stature, utterly void of sense, very good-natured, and very brave²².—We must now return to the affairs of England.

William, whose first care it had been to transform the convention into a parliament, was soon disgusted with that assembly, to which he owed his crown. The obligations on one side, and the claims of gratitude on the other, were indeed too great to afford any rational prospect of a lasting harmony: and other causes conspired to excite discord. The parliament, being chiefly composed of Whigs, the ever watchful guardians of liberty, refused to settle on William the revenue of the crown for life. Notwithstanding their good opinion of his principles, they were unwilling to render him independent: they therefore granted the revenue only for one year. The Tories took advantage of this patriotic jealousy, to render their rivals odious to the king; who, although educated in a republic, was imperious and fond of power. They represented the Whigs as men who were enemies to kingly govern-

21 Articles of Capitulation.

22 *Mem.* vol. i.

ment, and whom only the circumstances of the times had thrown into the scale of monarchy. And William, who had publicly declared, that a king without a permanent revenue was no better than a pageant, and who considered so close a dependence on his subjects as altogether inconsistent with the regal authority, readily listened to such insinuations; and, in order to emancipate himself, dissolved the parliament²³.

The new parliament, in which the Tories predominated, not only settled the revenue of the crown on William for life, but granted liberal supplies for carrying on the war in Ireland, and on the continent. In those votes the Whigs concurred, that they might not seem to destroy the work of their own hands. But the heads of the party were highly dissatisfied, at seeing that favour, and those offices, to which they thought themselves entitled by their past services, bestowed chiefly upon the Tories. They entered into cabals with the Jacobites, and even held a secret correspondence with the dethroned monarch²⁴. The presbyterians in Scotland, offended at the king's reservation of patronage, or the power of presenting ministers to the vacant kirks, in the proposed establishment of their religion, also joined in the same intrigues. But William, by permitting his commissioner to agree to any law, relative to their ecclesiastical government, that should to the majority of the general assembly seem most eligible, entirely quieted their discontents; and, in some measure, disconcerted the schemes of the disgusted Whigs in England, with whom they had entered into the most intimate connexions, and who hoped to make use of the fanatical fury of the Scots, in disturbing that settlement which they had so lately founded²⁵.

The adherents of James, however, were still numerous in

²³ Burnet.—Ralph.

²⁴ Dalrymple's *Append.*—*Mem. of James II.*

²⁵ Burnet.—Balcarrass.—Macpherson.

the North of Scotland; and William, by a dreadful example of severity, seemed determined to awe them into allegiance, or to rouse them to some desperate act of hostility, which might justify a general vengeance.

In consequence of a pacification with the Highlanders, a proclamation of indemnity had been issued to such insurgents as should take the oaths to the king and queen before the first day of January, 1692. The heads of all the clans, who had been in arms for James, strictly complied with the terms of the proclamation, except Macdonald of Glencoe; and his neglect, in suffering the time limited to elapse, was occasioned rather by accident than design. His submission was afterward received by the sheriff, though not without scruple. He then considered himself as under the protection of the laws; but ruin was ready to overtake him for his delay in tendering his allegiance. William, at the instigation of sir John Dalrymple,

Jan. 16,
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his secretary for Scotland, signed a warrant of military execution against Macdonald and his whole clan. And it was put in force by his countryman Campbell, of Glen-lyon, with the most savage barbarity, accompanied with a breach of hospitality. Macdonald himself was shot dead with two bullets in the back part of the head, by one Lindsay, an officer whom he had entertained as his guest: his tenants were murdered by the soldiers to whom they had given free quarters: women were

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killed in defending their tender offspring; and boys, in imploring mercy, were butchered by the officers to whose knees they clung!—Near forty persons were massacred, and many of those who escaped to the mountains perished of hunger or cold. All the houses in the valley were reduced to ashes; the cattle were driven away, and with the other moveables divided as spoil among the officers and soldiers²⁶.

This cruel massacre, which shocked all Europe, could

26 *Inquiry into the Massacre of Glencoe.*—Ralph.

not fail to rouse the resentment of the Jacobites in general, particularly the Highlanders; and the dissatisfied Whigs made use of it, to render odious the government of William. An insurrection, in favour of the dethroned monarch, was projected both in England and Scotland. James himself had taken all the steps, which his own prudence or the advice of his friends could suggest, to render his return agreeable to his former subjects; and Louis, encouraged by favourable accounts from Britain, began seriously to think of an invasion. About twenty thousand Irish and French soldiers, under the marechal de Bellefonde, were prepared for the expedition; and James, attended by the duke of Berwick, arrived in the camp, between Cherbourg and La Hogue. Numerous transports were assembled at Brest; and every thing was ready for the intended embarkation, when the scheme was suddenly baffled²⁷.

Louis, victorious by sea as well as land, had equipped a powerful navy to support this invasion. But the Toulon squadron, consisting of thirty sail, was prevented by contrary winds from joining the Brest fleet. Meanwhile the alarm of an invasion had spread to England; and the earl of Marlborough, and several persons of less note, were sent to the Tower, on suspicion of holding a treasonable correspondence with the deposed prince²⁸. Russell was

²⁷ *Stuart Papers*, 1692.—*Memoirs of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

²⁸ The earl of Marlborough certainly held a secret correspondence with James; but that unfortunate monarch never believed him to be sincere; he suspected him of a wish to betray his sovereign a second time. Admiral Russell seems also to have entered into these intrigues; and James had no better opinion of his sincerity. He was apprehensive that Russell, as a man of republican principles, sought only to unhinge the government, and debase the crown in the person of fallen majesty.—Dalrymple and Macpherson.

But whatever opinion Russell might hold, or whatever views he might secretly entertain, his conduct proves him to have been an able and faithful servant to his country. From no feature in his character or circumstance in his life can we believe, whatever may have been said by the assassins of public virtue, that he ever seriously intended to betray *that* country, and his trust as an English admiral, by carrying over the fleet under his command to the dethroned monarch, while a

ordered out with the English fleet; and having formed a junction with the Dutch squadron, he directed his course for La Hogue. Near that cape, he discovered May 19. the count of Tourville; who, though sensible of the superiority of the enemy, resolved to hazard an engagement, in order to vindicate himself from an aspersion that had been thrown on his courage by M. de Seignelay, minister of the marine. He accordingly bore down in the *Rising Sun*, of one hundred and four guns, upon *Russell*, who was in the *Britannia*, of one hundred guns. The rest of the French fleet fell in with the English line, and a hot engagement ensued, in which the Dutch had little share. *Tourville*, being at length disabled, was towed off by his boats, and five fresh ships, with a furious fire, covered his retreat²⁹.

The fleets were inactive on the following day; but the French afterwards sustained very serious injury. Sir *Ralph Delaval* burned the *Rising Sun*, the *Admirable*, and the *Conqueror*, near *Cherbourg*; and *Rooke* destroyed thirteen ships of the line, which had sought safety by running ashore at *La Hogue*, together with twenty transports, laden with military stores. *James*, to the utter confusion of his hopes, beheld from the shore this havock, which it was not in his power to prevent³⁰.

The partisans of *James* in England were less discouraged than the master whom they wished to re-establish. They

papist and pensioner of *Louis*. The ambitious and intriguing genius of *Marlborough*, his original treachery to *James*, and his long and intimate correspondence with his former master and benefactor whom he had betrayed, leave us more in the dark with respect to his ultimate designs. He appears to have had neither moral nor political principles, when they interfered with his avarice or ambition; and it seems certain that, from zeal for the service of *James*, or an aversion against *William*, he defeated, by his secret intelligence, an expedition against *Brest*, under admiral *Russell*, in 1694. *Stuart Papers*, May, 1694.—*Memoirs of James*.

29 *Russell's Letter to the Earl of Nottingham*, June 2, 1692.

30 "Ah!"—exclaimed that prince, with a mixture of admiration and regret, at seeing the French fleet set on fire,—“none but my brave English tars could “have performed so gallant an action!” *Dalrymple's Mem.*

considered the failure of the invasion as an accident which might soon be repaired, and continued to disturb the government with their intrigues. These intrigues, the perpetual opposition between the Whigs and Tories, and the necessity of large supplies to support the war on the continent, gave rise to two great and growing evils, intimately connected with each other; the national debt, and the corruption of the house of commons. At the same time that William, by a pernicious funding system, was loading the state by borrowing large sums to maintain his continental connexions, he was liberal of the public money to his servants at home; and employed it with little ceremony, to bring over his enemies, or to procure a majority in parliament. A. D. 1693.

To repress this corruption, so far as it affected the representatives of the people, a bill was brought in for triennial parliaments; and William found himself A. D. 1694. under the necessity of passing it, or of losing a promised supply. He was beside afraid to exert the influence of the crown, in defeating a bill of so much consequence to the nation; more especially as the queen, whose death he was sensible would weaken his authority, was then indisposed³¹. A similar bill, as we have already seen, was extorted from Charles I., but was repealed in compliment to Charles II. To this imprudent compliance may be ascribed the principal disorders during that and the subsequent reign. A house of commons, elected once in three years, would have formed such a strong bulwark to liberty, as must have baffled and discouraged all the attacks of arbitrary power. The more honest and independent part of the community, therefore, zealously promoted the present law; which, while it continued in force, certainly had some effect in stemming the tide of corruption, and producing a more fair representation of the people.

Dec. 28.

The queen, as William had apprehended, died soon after the enactment of this important bill. Mary was a woman of great equality of temper, and no small share of understanding. She was a sincere Protestant; and by her exemplary piety, the purity of her manners, and even by her attention to the useful employment of her time, she contributed much to reform the court, which had been extremely licentious during the two preceding reigns. Nor was she destitute of political address; which, in the absence of her husband, she exercised in such a manner as to conciliate the affections of all parties. But here her praise must cease. She possessed few shining virtues, or elegant accomplishments. And the character of an obedient wife, so justly her due, is shaded by the reproach of being a cruel sister, and an unfeeling daughter; who entered the palace of her father, soon after he had been forced to leave it, and ascended his throne with as much gaiety as if he had been an enemy to her existence, instead of an indulgent parent, and the fountain of her blood³².

William seemed to be greatly afflicted at the death of the queen; and, although perhaps he had little regard for her engaging person, from the coldness of his own disposition, his grief was possibly sincere. Her open and agreeable deportment, and her natural alliance to the throne, had chiefly contributed to reconcile the minds of men to his government. The Whigs could forgive her every breach of filial duty, on account of her adherence to the Protestant religion and the principles of liberty; and even the Tories were ready to ascribe her seeming want of sympathy with her father's misfortunes, to an obsequious submission to the will of her husband. With her, all natural title to the English crown expired, on the part of William; and although his authority, supported by the act of settlement, was too firmly established to be immediately shaken, the hopes of the Ja-

cobites began daily to rise, and conspiracies were formed against his life, as the only bar to the restoration of James, and the succession of his son, the titular prince of Wales, whose legitimacy seemed now to be put beyond all question, by the queen's undisputed delivery of a daughter³³. A. D. 1695.

The most dangerous conspiracy was conducted by sir George Barclay and other violent Jacobites, and was intimately connected with a plan for an insurrection in England, and an invasion from France. The duke of Berwick was sent over to forward the insurrection. But the English nobility and gentry in the interest of James, though warmly disposed to serve him, very prudently refused to take arms until a body of troops should be landed to support them. Finding them obstinate in this resolution, and being informed of the conspiracy against the life of William, the duke immediately returned to France, that he might not be confounded with men whose atrocious purpose had no connexion with his commission; though he thought himself bound in honour, he tells us, not to dissuade them from it. A. D. 1696.

In the mean time the troops intended for the invasion were assembled at Dunkirk and Calais. Three hundred transports were collected, and eighteen men of war were ready to escort them. James himself was on his way to join the army, when he was met by the duke of Berwick, after his return from England. Though he could not blame the caution of his friends, he was not a little mortified at it, as Louis had positively declared that he would not allow his troops to embark before an insurrection had actually taken place. The disconsolate prince, however, proceeded to Calais, in anxious expectation of the issue of the assassination plot; from which, though it was un-

³³ As the princess of Denmark had long carried on a secret correspondence with her father, and obtained his pardon for her undutiful conduct, it was presumed that she would not oppose his restoration, by pleading her parliamentary title to the succession.

dertaken without his authority, he hoped to derive advantage in his present distressful circumstances. Like a drowning mariner, he caught at a slippery rope, and rested his desperate fortune on the point of a ruffian's sword. But his suspense and embarrassment were soon removed. The plot was discovered; several of the conspirators were seised and executed, and all England was thrown into a ferment. The current of public opinion was suddenly changed. Even many of those who hated the person, and disliked the government of William, were shocked at the idea of a barbarous attempt upon his life; and his throne, which seemed lately to shake to its base, now appeared to be securely established³⁴.

Admiral Russell, on the first certain intelligence of the projected invasion, was ordered to repair to the Downs. Having hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*, he speedily collected a fleet of fifty sail, with which he appeared before Calais: and although he found it impracticable to destroy the French shipping, or greatly to injure the town, he spread terror along the coast, and convinced the enemy of the necessity of attending to their own safety, instead of ambitiously attempting to invade the territories of their neighbours.

Thus were all the hopes of James and his adherents blasted, by what the French termed his *MALIGNANT STAR*. Covered with shame and confusion, and overwhelmed with disappointment and despair, he returned to St. Germain's; where, relinquishing all thoughts of an earthly crown, he turned his views solely toward heaven. Louis, who was an accomplished gentleman as well as a magni-

34 Burnet, book v.—Duke of Berwick.—James II. Amidst all these conspiracies against his person and government, William discovered a cool courage, which does great honour to his memory. On some occasions he displayed even a generous magnanimity that claims admiration. He not only pardoned but continued in employment some of his principal servants, after making them sensible that he was acquainted with their intrigues! And he was rewarded with that fidelity which such heroic confidence deserved.

ficent king, treated the dethroned monarch, on every occasion, with great kindness and respect. But some of the French courtiers were less polite than their sovereign. "There," said one of them, in the hearing of James, "is a simpleton, who has given up three kingdoms for a "mass³⁵."

We shall see, in the course of events, Louis himself obliged to abandon the cause of this royal refugee, and to acknowledge the right of William to his dominions.

LETTER XVIII.

Sketch of the Military Transactions on the Continent, from the Beginning of the War that followed the League of Augsburg, to the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, and of Carlowitz, 1699.

THE emperor Leopold, who was considered as the head of the Anti-Gallican league, was an able and a powerful prince. The decisions of his cabinet testified his policy; and, without being a warrior, he was successful in the operations of the field. But humanity and greatness of mind did not always appear in his actions and behaviour. His success in Hungary, and the change by which a crown formerly elective was declared hereditary in his family, did not take place without the effusion of much blood, both in the field and on the scaffold. He who appeared as the protector of Christendom, and the assertor of the rights of nations, was himself a tyrant and a persecutor. He was still engaged in hostilities with the Turks; but the taking of Belgrade by assault, joined to his other triumphs, enabled him to take part in the war against Louis, whose vain-glorious ambition had alarmed all Europe. Beside a jealousy for the liberties of Germany, Leopold had other motives for entering into this war. He

knew that the *Most Christian king*, while persecuting his Huguenot subjects, had supported the Protestants in Hungary; had incited them to take arms in defence of those heretical opinions which he abhorred; and had even encouraged the infidels to invade the *holy Roman empire*, the great bulwark of the Christian world!

The French monarch, trusting to his great resources, prepared to repel the storm which his ambition had raised, with a vigour proportioned to the occasion. He assembled

two armies in Flanders: he opposed a third to
A. D. 1689.

the Spaniards in Catalonia; and, to form a barrier on the side of Germany, he ravaged the Palatinate with fire and sword, after having made himself master of its principal towns. This barbarous policy has been severely and justly blamed; and it can never be too strongly

reprobated. Men, women, and children, were
February.

driven out of their habitations, to wander about the fields, and to perish by hunger and cold; while they beheld their houses reduced to ashes, their goods seized, and their possessions pillaged by the rapacious soldiery¹. The terrible execution began at Manheim, the seat of the electors; where not only the palaces of those princes were rased to the ground, but their very tombs opened in search of hidden treasures, and their venerable dust scattered in the air. Twice, during the reign of the unfeeling Louis, was this fine country desolated by the arms of France; but the flames lighted by Turenne, however dreadful, were only like so many torches, compared with the present conflagration, which filled all Europe with horror.

Nor did that cruel expedient, so disgraceful to the character of the French monarch, answer the end proposed: it served only to increase the number and inflame the resentment of his enemies. Though he had near three hundred and fifty thousand men in the field, he found

1 Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xv.—Hanault, 1689.

himself inferior to the allies. Eleven thousand British soldiers, commanded by the earl of Marlborough, augmented the army of Spain and the United Provinces, in Flanders, to near fifty thousand men. The Germanic body, united under the emperor, assembled three formidable armies, beside that which opposed the Turks; namely, one under the elector of Bavaria, who commanded on the Upper Rhine; another (the main army) led by the duke of Lorrain, who acted on the Middle Rhine; and a third on the Lower Rhine, conducted by the elector of Brandenburg.

The duke of Lorrain advanced through the forest of Saon, and laid siege to Mentz; while the elector of Brandenburg, with his own troops, and those of Westphalia, invested Bonne. Both places were taken: and the French, under the marechal d'Humieres, though determined to remain on the defensive in Flanders, were brought to an engagement by the prince of Waldeck, and worsted at Walcourt². Nor was Louis more successful in Catalonia, where his troops were driven back to their own frontiers by the duke de Villa Hermosa; who, pursuing the marechal de Noailles, laid Roussillon under contribution³. The same bad fortune that seemed at this time to persecute France, fell with still greater weight upon the grand signor, her ally. The prince of Baden, who commanded for the emperor on the side of Hungary, thrice defeated the Turks. He forced their entrenchments on the banks of the Morava, and routed them at Nissa, and at Widin⁴: so that the Most Christian king, who had expected a great diversion of the imperial forces by the infidels, now found himself obliged to rely on his own arms.

The enemies of France were still more numerous during the next campaign; but her generals were better chosen. The duke of Savoy having joined the allies, it became necessary for Louis to send an army into

A. D. 1690.

² Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xv.—Henault, 1689.

³ *Mem. de Noailles*, tome i.

⁴ Barre, tome x.

Italy. This army was committed to the marechal de Catinat, who united the fire of a hero to the coolness of a philosopher. Bred to the law, in which he would have excelled, he had quitted that profession in disgust, and risen to the highest military rank by the mere force of merit. He every where showed himself superior to his antagonist Victor Amadeus, though reputed an able general, and completely defeated him at Staffarda. In consequence of this victory, Saluzzo fell into the hands of the French; Susa, which commanded the passes between Dauphiné and Piedmont, was taken; and all Savoy, except the fortress of Montmelian, was soon reduced⁵.

The same success attended the arms of France on the frontiers of Spain, where all Catalonia was thrown into confusion; and Luxemburg, who united the conduct of Turenne to the intuitive genius of Condé, gave a new turn to her affairs in Flanders. Being joined by the duke de Boufflers, he advanced against the prince of Waldeck; and an obstinate battle ensued at Fleurus, near Charleroy; where, by a bold and decisive motion of his cavalry, he at length obtained a victory. Covered from the view of the enemy by a rising ground, the French horse fell upon the flank of the Dutch, while engaged in front with the infantry. The Dutch cavalry fled at the first shock; but their infantry stood firm, and performed signal acts of valour. Five thousand were killed or wounded before they gave way; and Luxemburg declared, that the Spanish infantry did not behave with greater courage even at Rocroy⁶.

Nothing memorable happened during the campaign on the French side of Germany. The inaction of the allies in that quarter may partly be ascribed to the death of the duke of Lorraine. This gallant prince, whose high spirit had induced him to abandon his dominions, and act as a soldier of fortune, rather than submit to the hard condi-

⁵ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xv.—Henault, 1690.

⁶ Id. *ibid*.

tions offered him by Louis at the peace of Nimeguen, had greatly distinguished himself on many occasions, and was become a consummate general. His injuries seem always to have retained a paramount influence over his mind, except while he was engaged against the infidels, when religion was predominant. He threatened to enter Lorrain at the head of forty thousand men before the end of the summer; a circumstance which seems to have given rise to the report of his having been poisoned by the emissaries of France. His letter to the emperor Leopold, his brother-in-law, written on his death-bed, strongly marks his character. "I am going," says he, "to give an account to "a more powerful Master, of a life which I have devoted "chiefly to your service. Remember that I leave behind "me a wife, who is nearly related to you; children who "have no inheritance but my sword, and subjects who are "in oppression?!"

The Turks were no less successful in this campaign than the French. Exasperated at the loss of their armies in Hungary and the neighbouring provinces, they had demanded the head of the grand vizir, which was granted to them; and the new vizir, being a man of an active disposition, as well as skilful in the military art, made great preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. Nor did he neglect the arts of policy. The vaivode of Transylvania having died lately, he prevailed with the grand signor to declare Tekeli, the chief of the Hungarian mal-contents, his successor. This revolution, and the successes of Tekeli, obliged the prince of Baden, who commanded the imperial army in Hungary, to march into Transylvania. During his absence the Turks took Nissa, Widin, and even Belgrade; which was carried by assault, after a bloody siege, in consequence of the explosion of a powder magazine; and all the Hungarian territories beyond the Teise fell into their hands⁸.

⁷ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i. ⁸ *Barre*, tome x.—*Heiss*, lib. iii.

Amidst the misfortunes of the allies during this campaign, we ought not to omit the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets; an event which, in speaking of the affairs of Great-Britain, I have already hinted at, but found no opportunity to describe. Beachy-head was the scene of action; where the fleet of France, under Tourville, was with diffidence attacked by two maritime powers, who had long contended singly for the sovereignty of the ocean. So great, indeed, had been the exertions of Louis in raising his navy, that the allies were inferior to Tourville, both in the size and the number of their ships; but their skill in seamanship, and the memory of their former exploits, it was hoped, would compensate their deficiency in force. It happened, however, otherwise.

After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, the earl of Torrington, who commanded in chief for the allies, bore down upon the enemy; in consequence of express orders to hazard a battle, which he had hitherto carefully avoided. The Dutch squadron, which formed the van of the combined fleet, soon put the van of the French into some disorder; and the blue division of the English attacked the rear of the enemy with great vigour. But the red squadron, which formed the centre, came late into action, and then fought at such a distance from the Dutch, as to suffer their division to be surrounded by the French. Though the Hollanders acted with spirit, most of their ships were disabled; three of the line were sunk in the engagement, and three burned in the flight. Beside many brave seamen, two of their admirals, and several captains, were slain. The English who were in the action suffered extremely. The ships of the French were well manned; their fire was regular and rapid, and their management of the sails during the action skilful and expeditious. Nothing but their ignorance of the course of the tides, and their pursuing in a line, could have prevented them from crushing the naval force of

England and Holland. In this unfortunate battle, the allies lost eight ships of the line; but it was attended with no farther effects of any importance⁹.

The progress of the French, during the next campaign, was not equal to what might have been expected from their victories in the foregoing; nor was the success of the allies answerable to their hopes. A. D. 1691.

Though Louis in person took Mons, in the spring, in defiance of king William, who had placed himself at the head of the confederate army, the summer was spent in a state of inactivity, and passed without any memorable event on the side of Flanders. On the frontiers of Germany the war languished; and although the French were successful in Catalonia, they had no reason, on the whole, to boast of their good fortune. The conquests of Catinat in Italy were checked by prince Eugene and the young duke of Schomberg; who repulsed him at Coni, in Piedmont, and obliged him soon after to repass the Po. Meanwhile the Turks, on the side of Hungary, lost the advantages of the preceding campaign. They were totally routed, by the prince of Baden, at Salankemen, with the loss of seventeen thousand men; and the grand vizir, the seraskier, and most of their principal officers being slain, the remains of their army found it necessary to seek shelter beyond the Save¹⁰.

William and Louis, the following spring, set out on the same day to join their respective armies; and the highest hopes were formed on both sides. Louis suddenly sat down before Namur, with an army of A. D. 1692. forty thousand men; while the duke of Luxemburg, with another army, covered the siege. The town was strong, the citadel was deemed impregnable: the garrison consisted of ten thousand men; and the famous Cohorn defended in person a new fort, which bore his name, while

⁹ Torrington's *Letter*, July 1.—Kennet.—Ralph.

¹⁰ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xv.—Barre, tome x.

Vauban directed the attack. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards Namur, where two great kings contended for glory and conquest. William advanced to the relief of the place with eighty thousand men; but the duke's strong position on the banks of the Meuse, which ran between the two armies, and the unexpected rains, which had not only swelled the stream, but formed into morasses the adjoining fields, deterred him from hazarding an engagement. Meanwhile Louis, having taken the town, pressed with vigour the siege of the new fort; and Cohorn was at length obliged to capitulate. The fate of the citadel was soon after decided, and Louis returned in triumph to Versailles¹¹.

In order to recover that reputation, which he had lost by not succouring Namur, William endeavoured to surprise the duke of Luxemburg at Steinkirk. The attack was chiefly made by the British troops, in columns. They pressed with amazing intrepidity upon the right wing of the French, notwithstanding the disadvantage of ground; broke their line, took their artillery, and, if properly supported, would have gained an undisputed victory. But William and his Dutch generals not only failed to second the efforts of those brave battalions with fresh troops, but to charge the enemy's left wing, when the right was thrown into disorder¹². In consequence of these mistakes, the battle was totally lost. The English, neglected by their allies, and left to sustain almost alone the shock of the household troops of France, encouraged by the presence of the princes of the blood, were constrained to retire with a considerable diminution of their number. Nor was the loss of the French less considerable. Partial as the engagement proved, above ten thousand men fell on both sides, in the space of four hours; and the veteran Luxemburg declared, that he was

¹¹ Voltaire, *ubi supra*.—Barre,—Henault.

¹² *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

never in so hot an action¹³. William's military character suffered greatly by this battle, and the hatred of the English against the Dutch became violent in the highest degree¹⁴. "Let us see what sport these English bulldogs will make!" was the cool sarcastic reply of count Solmes, when ordered to advance to the support of the British troops.

The allies were less unfortunate in other quarters. The French, by their particular attention to Flanders, left their own country exposed. The army under Catinat being too weak to resist the duke of Savoy, that prince entered Dauphiné, and sufficiently revenged himself for the insults which he had received in his own dominions, during the two preceding campaigns. He ravaged the country; he reduced the fortified towns; and sickness alone prevented him from achieving very important conquests¹⁵. Nothing of great consequence happened on the Rhine, though there the French had rather the advantage. The confederates were more successful on the borders of Hungary. Great-Waradin, after a long blockade, was taken by the Imperialists; and those disorders which usually attend the misfortunes of the Turks, involved the court of Constantinople in blood.

The haughty disturber of the peace of Europe opened the next campaign with great pomp in Flanders. He went thither with his whole court, and appeared at the head of one hundred and ten thousand men. Nothing less was expected from such a force than the entire conquest of that fine country. But Louis, influenced by motives which have never been sufficiently explained, suddenly disappointed the hopes of his friends, and quieted the fears of his enemies. He sent part of his army into Germany, under the dauphin; and leaving to

¹³ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

¹⁴ Burnet, book v.

¹⁵ *Theat. Eur.* 1692.—Henault.

Luxemburg the conduct of the military operations in Flanders, returned to Versailles with his court¹⁶.

This unexpected measure has been ascribed to the strong position of the allies at Park, near Louvain, where king William had judiciously encamped his army, in order to cover Brussels, and by which he is supposed to have disconcerted the designs of the French monarch. But William, who had only fifty thousand men, would not have dared, as the duke of Berwick justly observes, to wait the approach of so superior a force as that under Louis; or, if he had, he must have been overwhelmed; and Brussels, Liege, and even Maestricht, must have fallen. This, adds the duke, makes the king's departure, and the division of his army, the more unaccountable. A slight indisposition, and the anxiety of madame de Maintenon (his favourite mistress, who accompanied him), for the health and safety of her royal lover, probably saved Flanders; though Louis himself, in a letter to the marechal de Noailles, ascribes his sudden change of measures to a desire of peace, and to a conviction that it could only be procured by vigorous exertions in Germany¹⁷.

The duke of Luxemburg, with the main body of the French army, after having attempted in vain, by a variety of movements, by taking Huy and threatening Liege, to bring the allies to an engagement, resolved to attack them in their camp, when they were weakened by detachments. He accordingly quitted his post at Hellicheim, suddenly crossed the Jaar, and advanced toward them by forced marches. His van was in sight before they were advised of his approach; but as it was then almost evening, William might have retired in the night with safety, had he not depended upon the strength of his position and the bravery of his troops. The river Geete bounded his

¹⁶ Burnet, book v.—Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

¹⁷ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome i.

right, and ran winding along his rear. On the left, and in the front of the left, was the brook of Landen. A thick hedge covered part of the front of his right wing. The village of Neerwinden, with entrenchments before it, was situated between the left end of the hedge and his centre, the right joining the Geete. The village of Romsdorff stood farther advanced, opposed to the front of the left wing, and the entrenchments before it stretched to the brook of Landen. A line of strong works extended themselves behind the two villages, and behind these the allied army was formed. The whole front was covered with one hundred pieces of cannon; which, by being advantageously placed on an eminence, commanded all the approaches¹⁸.

The duke of Luxemburg, on the evening of his arrival, dislodged a detachment posted at Landen; and between this village and that of Romsdorff he placed forty battalions in the night. He formed his centre of eight lines of horse and foot intermixed; and his horse, on the left wing, were ordered to extend themselves to the Geete, opposite their line, to the thick hedge which covered the enemy's right. About five in the morning, this arrangement was completed: a cannonading took place on both sides, and the duke of Berwick, with two other lieutenant-generals, Rubantel and Montchevreuil, were ordered to begin the attack; Rubantel, on the entrenchments to the right of Neerwinden, with two brigades; Montchevreuil, on the left, with the same number; and the duke of Berwick on the village, with two other brigades. The village projected beyond the plain; so that the duke of Berwick, who was in the centre, attacked first. He forced the allies to abandon their post; he drove them from hedge to hedge, as far as the plain, at the entrance of which he formed again in order of battle. But the troops destined to attack on his right and left, instead of following their instructions, thought they would

July 19.

¹⁸ *Mém. de Feuquieres.*—Berwick's *Mem.* ubi sup.

be less exposed to the enemy's fire by throwing themselves into the village; in consequence of which attempt, they got at once into his rear; and the allies, perceiving this blunder, re-entered Neerwinden by the right and left, now entirely unguarded. A terrible conflict ensued. The four brigades under Rubantel and Montchevreuil were thrown into confusion, and driven out of the village; and the duke of Berwick, attacked on all sides, and unsupported, was taken prisoner¹⁹.

Luxemburg, however, was not intimidated by this disaster. He made a second attempt upon Neerwinden, and succeeded. His troops were again expelled, and a third time took possession of the village. The battle now raged with redoubled fury. William twice led the English infantry up to his entrenchments, which the enemy endeavoured to force; but nothing could resist the impetuosity of the French. Their centre, being reinforced by the right wing, opened a way for their cavalry into the very lines of the confederates. They flanked the English, they broke the German and Spanish horse; and William, when bravely advancing to the charge, with part of his left wing, had the mortification to see his right driven headlong into the Geete. All was now tumult and confusion. Terror and flight prevailed; and beside those who sunk in the general slaughter, many were drowned in the river. Twelve thousand of the allies were killed or wounded: two thousand were made prisoners; and sixty pieces of cannon, and eight mortars, with about seventy standards and colours, fell into the hands of the French²⁰. Yet Luxemburg gained little but glory by this victory. Six thousand of his best soldiers were slain; and his army was so weakened by the number of the wounded, that he could take no advantage of the consternation of the enemy. During six weeks he continued in

19 *Mém. de Feuquieres*.—*Berwick's Mem.* ubi sup.

20 Burnet.—Ralph.—Daniel.—Duke of Berwick.

a state of inaction, and Charleroy was his only conquest during the remainder of the campaign.

On the side of Germany, the French stained the glory of their arms by acts of detestable cruelty. Chamilly, having taken Heidelberg by storm, put the soldiers and citizens promiscuously to the sword; and when the massacre ended, rapine began. The houses were burned, the churches pillaged, the inhabitants stripped, and the persons of the women exposed to violation²¹. This shocking tragedy excepted, nothing memorable happened in that quarter. The Germans, sensible of their inferiority, studiously avoided a battle; and the dauphin, after crossing the Neckar, and dispersing an arrogant manifesto in recommendation of peace, returned without laurels to Versailles. The war in Hungary produced no signal event. In Catalonia, Noailles took Roses in sight of the Spanish army, and would have met with more important success, had he not been obliged to send a detachment into Italy²².

The military operations, on the side of Piedmont, after having languished throughout the summer, were terminated in the autumn by a spirited conflict. When the duke of Savoy, at the head of the confederates, had invested Pignerol, Catinat, being reinforced with ten thousand men, descended from the mountains, and seemed to threaten Turin. Alarmed for the safety of his capital, the duke raised the siege of Pignerol, and advanced to the small river Cisola, where it passes by Marsaglia. Resolving to engage Catinat, he sent away his heavy baggage. The two armies were soon in sight of each other, and the French general did not decline the combat. The imperial and Piedmontese cavalry, commanded by the duke in person, composed the right wing of the confederates; the infantry, consisting of the troops of Savoy, and those in the pay of Great-Britain, were stationed in

21 Barre.—Heiss.

22 *Mém. de Noailles*, tome i.

the centre, under prince Eugene; and the Spaniards, led by their native officers, formed the left wing. The French acted in an unusual manner. They received, as they advanced, the fire of the Spaniards; then fired, charged them with fixed bayonets, and afterward sword in hand. The left wing of the allied army was soon broken, and thrown into confusion on the centre, which, as well as the right wing, sustained the battle with obstinacy. These divisions, however, were ultimately constrained to yield the victory to the French; who, with no small loss on their own side, sacrificed about five thousand of their adversaries. Among many persons of distinction who fell or were taken, the young duke of Schomberg was mortally wounded and made prisoner²³.

Nor were the French less successful in maritime affairs. Though the shock which their navy had sustained off La Hogue rendered them unable to face the combined fleet of England and Holland, they made up in diligence what they wanted in force. The English nation had, with reason, complained of the little attention paid to commerce ever since the beginning of the war. Though powerful fleets were sent to sea, and some advantages gained on that element, trade had suffered much from the frigates and privateers of the enemy. The merchants, therefore, resolved to keep the richest ships in their several harbours, till a sufficient convoy could be obtained: and so great was the negligence of government, that many of them had been for eighteen months ready to sail²⁴! Their number accumulated daily. At length the allied squadrons were ordered to conduct, as far as might be requisite, four hundred merchantmen, consisting of English, Dutch, and Hamburghers, bound for the different ports of the Mediterranean, and generally known by the name of the *Smyrna Fleet*. They accordingly put to sea, and proceeded fifty leagues beyond

²³ *Mém. de Feuquieres*.—Ralph.—De Larrey.

²⁴ Burnet, book v.

Ushant; where they left sir George Rooke, with twenty-three sail, to convoy the traders to the strait of Gibraltar.

Meanwhile the French fleet, under Tourville, had taken its station in the bay of Lagos, and lay in that place till Rooke and the multitude of rich vessels under his conduct appeared. Deceived by false intelligence concerning the strength of the enemy, the English admiral prepared to engage; but suddenly perceiving his mistake, he stood away with an easy sail, ordering the merchantmen to disperse and shift for themselves. The French came up with the sternmost ships, and took two Dutch men of war. About eighty of the mercantile vessels were taken or destroyed. The object of the voyage was defeated; and the loss in ships and cargo nearly amounted to twelve hundred thousand pounds²⁵.

But Louis, amidst all his victories, had the mortification to see his subjects languishing in misery and want. France was afflicted with a dreadful famine, partly occasioned by unfavourable seasons, partly by the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground; and notwithstanding all the provident attention of her ministry in bringing supplies of corn from abroad, in regulating the price and furnishing the markets, many of her people died of hunger²⁶.

William, apprised of this distress, and still thirsting for revenge, rejected all advances toward peace, and hastened his military preparations. He was accordingly enabled to appear early in Flanders at the head A. D. 1694. of a great and well appointed army; but the superior genius of Luxemburg, with an inferior force, prevented the king from gaining any considerable advantage. The re-taking of Huy was his only conquest. On the Upper Rhine, in Hungary, in Piedmont, no memorable event occurred. On the side of Spain, the war was carried on

²⁵ Burchet's *Naval Hist.*—Burnet.—Ralph.

²⁶ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xv.

with greater vigour. Noailles, having forced the passage of the river Ter, in Catalonia, defeated an entrenched Spanish army. Gerona and Hostalric fell successively into his hands; and he would have made himself master of Barcelona, had not admiral Russell, with the combined fleet, arrived in the neighbouring seas, and obliged the French fleet to take shelter in Toulon. While Tourville and d'Estrées were blocked up in that harbour, some of the French ports in the Channel were bombarded, though with no great effect²⁷.

The glory and greatness of Louis were now not only at their height, but verging toward a decline. His resources were exhausted; his minister Louvois, who knew so well how to employ them, was dead: and Luxemburg, the last of those great generals who had made France the terror of Europe, died before the opening of the next campaign. Louis determined, therefore, to act merely on the defensive in the Netherlands, where the allies had assembled an extraordinary force. After some hesitation, he placed Villeroy at the head of the principal army, and intrusted the second to Boufflers. A. D. 1695. Namur on the right, and Dunkirk on the left, comprehended between them the extent of country to be defended by the French. Tournay and Ypres formed part of the line. Boufflers was ordered to assemble his army near Mons, to cover Namur; and Villeroy posted himself between the Scheld and the Lys, to protect Tournay, Ypres, and Dunkirk²⁸.

King William, to amuse the enemy, and conceal his real design upon Namur, made some artful movements, which distracted the attention of Villeroy, and rendered him uncertain where the storm would first fall. At length having completed his preparations, and formed his army into three bodies, he ordered the elector of Bavaria, with

²⁷ Daniel.—Burnet.—Duke of Berwick.

²⁸ *Mém. de Feuquières.*

one division, to invest Namur. He himself, at the head of the main body, was encamped behind the Mehaigne, and in a condition to pass that river, and sustain the siege, if necessary; while the prince of Vaudemont, with an army of observation, lay between the Lys and the Mandel, to cover those places in Flanders which were most exposed. Boufflers having thrown himself into the town with a reinforcement, it made a vigorous defence, but was at last obliged to surrender; and the citadel, which Villeroy attempted in vain to relieve, was also taken. Louis, in order to wipe off this disgrace, and to retaliate on the confederates for the attacks made by the English on the coast of France, commanded Villeroy to bombard Brussels; and the prince of Vaudemont had the mortification to see a considerable part of that city laid in ruins, without being able either to prevent or avenge the wanton destruction²⁹.

The military reputation of William, which had suffered greatly during the three foregoing campaigns, was much raised by the recovery of Namur. But the allies had little success in other quarters. No event of importance happened on the side of Italy, on the Upper Rhine, or in Catalonia. On the side of Hungary, where peace had been expected by the confederates, the accession of Mustapha II. to the Ottoman throne, gave a new turn to affairs. Possessed of more vigour than his predecessor Ahmed II., he resolved to command his troops in person. He accordingly took the field; passed the Danube; stormed Lippha; seised Titul; and falling suddenly on a body of Imperialists, under Veterani, he killed that officer, dispersed his forces, and closed with success a campaign which promised nothing but misfortune to the Turks³⁰.

The next campaign produced no signal event. France was exhausted by her great exertions: and, the king of Spain and the emperor excepted, all par-

A. D. 1696.

²⁹ Kane's Campaigns.—*Mém. de Feuquières*.

³⁰ Barre.—Heiss.

ties seemed heartily tired of the war. Louis by his intrigues had detached the duke of Savoy from the confederacy: he tampered with the other powers: and a congress for a general peace, under the mediation of Charles XI. of Sweden, was at last opened, at the castle of Ryswick, between Delft and the Hague. The taking of Barcelona, by the duke of Vendome, induced the king of Spain to listen to the proposals of France; and the emperor, after A. D. 1697. reproaching his allies with deserting him, found it necessary to accede to the treaty.

The concessions made by the French king were very considerable; but the pretensions of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish succession were left in full force. Though the renunciation of all claim to that succession, conformable to the Pyrenean treaty, had been one great object of the war, no mention was made of it in the articles of peace. It was stipulated, that Louis should acknowledge William as lawful sovereign of Great-Britain and Ireland, and make no farther attempt to disturb him in the possession of his kingdoms³¹; that the duchy of Luxemburg, the county of Chiney, Charleroy, Mons, Aeth, Courtray, and almost all the places united to France by the chambers of Metz and Brisac, as well as those taken in Catalonia during the war, should be restored to Spain; that Freyburg, Brisac, and Philipsburg, should be given up to the emperor; and that the duchies of Lorrain and Bar should be rendered back to their native prince³².

³¹ Louis, we are told, discovered great reluctance in submitting to this article; and, that he might not seem altogether to desert the dethroned monarch, proposed that his son should succeed to the crown of England, after the death of William. It is said, that William, with little hesitation, agreed to the request; that he even solemnly engaged to procure the repeal of the act of settlement, and to obtain another act, declaring the pretended prince of Wales his successor. But James, it is added, rejected the offer, protesting, that, if he should be capable of consenting to such a disgraceful proposal in favour of his son, he might justly be reproached with departing from his avowed principles, and with ruining monarchy, by rendering elective an hereditary crown. *Dépôt des Affaires Etrangères à Versailles*.—James II. 1697.—Macpherson's *Hist. of Brit.* vol. ii.

³² Du Mont, *Corp. Diplom.* tome viii.

The emperor had scarcely assented to the treaty of Ryswick, which re-established tranquillity in the north and west of Europe, when he received intelligence of the total defeat of the Turks, by his arms, at Zenta, a small village on the western bank of the Teisse, in the kingdom of Hungary. The celebrated prince Eugene of Savoy had succeeded the elector of Saxony in the command of the Imperialists, and to his consummate abilities they were indebted for their extraordinary success. Mustapha commanded his army in person. The battle was of short duration, but uncommonly bloody. About fifteen thousand Turks were left dead on the field, and eight thousand were drowned in the river, in endeavouring to avoid the fury of the sword. The magnificent pavilion of the sultan, the stores, ammunition, provisions, and all the artillery and baggage of the enemy, fell into the hands of prince Eugene. The grand vizir was killed, the seal of the Ottoman empire taken, and the aga of the Janisaries, and twenty-seven pashas, were found among the slain³³.

This decisive victory, though it was followed by no striking consequences, broke the spirit of the Turks; and the haughty Mustapha, after attempting in vain, during another campaign, to recover the laurels he had lost at Zenta, agreed to listen to proposals of peace. The plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers accordingly met at Carlowitz, and signed a treaty, in which it was stipulated that Hungary, on this side of the Drave, Jan. 26, and as far as the district of Temeswar, with 1699, N. S. Transylvania and Sclavonia, should be ceded to the house of Austria; that the Russians should retain Azoph, on the Palus Mæotis, which had been taken by their young sovereign Peter I., afterward styled the Great; that the whole province of Podolia should be restored to the Poles; and that the Venetians, who had distinguished themselves during the latter years of the war, should be gratified with

³³ *Life of prince Eugene.*—Barre, tome x.

all the Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus, and with several places in Dalmatia³⁴.

Thus, my dear Philip; was general tranquillity restored to Europe. But the seeds of future discord, as we shall soon find, were already sown in every corner of Christendom. It was but a delusive calm before a violent storm. It will however afford us leisure to take a survey of the progress of society.



LETTER XIX.

Of the Progress of Society in Europe from the Middle of the Sixteenth to the End of the Seventeenth Century.

ABOUT the middle of the sixteenth century, as we have formerly seen¹, society had attained a very high degree of perfection in Italy. Soon after that æra, the Italian states began to decline, and the other European nations, then comparatively barbarous, to advance towards refinement. Among these, the French took the lead: for, although the Spanish nobility, during the reign of Charles V. and his immediate successors, were perhaps the most polished and enlightened set of men on this side of the Alps, the great body of the nation then was, as it still continues, sunk in ignorance, superstition, and barbarism. And the secluded condition of the women, both in Spain and Italy, was a farther barrier against true politeness. That grand obstruction to elegance and pleasure was effectually removed, in the Gallic kingdom, by Francis I. Anne of Bretagne, wife of Charles VIII. and of Louis XII., had introduced the custom of the public appearance of

34 Du Mont, *Corp. Diplom.* tome viii.

1 Part I. Letter LVIII.

ladies at the French court: Francis encouraged it, and, by familiarising the intercourse of the sexes, in many brilliant assemblies and gay circles, threw over the manners of the nation those bewitching graces that have so long attracted the admiration of Europe.

But this innovation, like most others in civil life, was at first attended with several inconveniences. As soon as familiarity had worn off that respect, approaching to adoration, which had hitherto been paid to women of rank, the advances of the men became more bold and licentious. No longer afraid of offending, they poured their lawless passion in the ear of beauty; and female innocence, unaccustomed to such solicitations, was unable to resist the seducing language of love, when breathed from the glowing lips of youth and manhood. Frequent intrigues were the consequences; and the court of France, during half a century, was a scene of the most profligate libertinism. Catharine of Medicis encouraged this sensuality, and employed it as the engine for perfecting her system of Machiavelian policy. By the attractions of her fair attendants she governed the leaders of the Huguenot faction; or by their insidious caresses obtained the secrets of her enemies, in order to work their ruin; to bring them before a venal tribunal, or to take them off by the more dark and common instruments of her ambition—poison, and the stiletto. Murders were hatched in the arms of love, and massacres planned in the cabinet of pleasure.

On the accession of Henry IV. and the cessation of the religious wars, gallantry began to assume a milder form. The reign of sensuality continued; but it was mingled with sentiment, and connected with heroism. Henry himself, though habitually licentious, was often in love, and sometimes foolishly intoxicated with that passion; but he was always a king and a soldier. His courtiers, in like manner, were frequently dissolute, but never effeminate. The same beauty that served to solace the warrior after his

toils, contributed also to inspire him with new courage. Chivalry seemed to revive in the train of libertinism; and the ladies, acquiring greater knowledge and experience, from their more early and frequent intercourse with our sex, became more sparing of their favours.

Gallantry was formed into a system during the reign of Louis XIII.; and love was analysed with all the nicety of metaphysics. The faculties of the two sexes were whetted, and their manners polished, by combating each other. Woman was placed beyond the reach of man, without the help of grates or bars. In the bosom of society, in the circle of amusement, and even in the closet of assignation, she set him at defiance; and while she listened to his fond request, she was deaf to his suit, unless when presented under the sanction of virtue, and recommended by sentiment.

This tender sentiment, so much talked of in France, and so little felt, was sublimed to an enthusiastic passion, during the regency of Anne of Austria, and the civil wars that disfigured the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. Then all things were conducted by women. The usual time for deliberation was midnight; and a lady in bed, or on a sofa, was the soul of the council. There she determined to fight, to negotiate, to embroil, or to accommodate matters with the court; and as love presided over all those consultations, secret aversions or attachments frequently prepared the way for the greatest events. A revolution in the heart of a woman of fashion, almost always announced a change in public affairs².

2 Every one had her department and her dominion. Madame de Montbazou, fair and showy, governed the duke of Beaufort; madame de Longueville, the duke of Rochefoucault; madame de Chatillon, Nemours and Condé; mademoiselle de Chevreuse, the coadjutor, afterward cardinal de Retz; mademoiselle de Saujon, devout and tender, the duke of Orléans; and the duchess of Bouillon, her husband. At the same time madame de Chevreuse, lively and warm, resigned herself to her lovers from taste, and to politics occasionally; and the princess Palatine, alternately the friend and the enemy of the great Condé, by means of her genius more than her beauty, subjected all whom she desired to please, or whom she had either a whim or an interest to persuade. *Essai sur le Caractère, les Mœurs, et l'Esprit des Femmes dans les differens Siècles*, par M. Thomas.

The ladies often appeared openly at the head of factions, adorned with the ensigns of their party; visited the troops, and presided at councils of war; while their lovers spoke as seriously of an assignation, as of the issue of a campaign. Hence the celebrated verses of the philosophical duke de la Rochefoucault to the duchess of Longueville:

*Pour mériter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois; je l'aurois fait aux dieux!*

"To merit that heart, and to please those bright eyes,
"I made war upon kings: I'd have warr'd 'gainst the skies!"

Every thing connected with gallantry, how insignificant soever in itself, was considered as a matter of importance. The duke de Bellegarde, the declared lover of the queen-regent, in taking leave of her majesty to assume the command of an army, begged as a particular favour that she would touch the hilt of his sword. And M. de Chatillon, who was enamoured of mademoiselle de Guerchi, wore one of her garters tied round his arm in battle³.

But this serious gallantry, which Anne of Austria had brought with her from Spain, and which was so contrary to the genius of the French nation, vanished with the other remains of barbarism on the approach of the bright days of Louis XIV., when the glory of France was at its height, and the French language, literature, arts, and manners, were perfected. Ease was associated with elegance, taste with fashion, and grace with freedom. Love spoke once more the language of nature, while decency drew a veil over sensuality. Men and women became reasonable beings, and the intercourse between the sexes a school of urbanity; where a mutual desire to please gave smoothness to the behaviour, and mutual esteem imparted delicacy to the mind and sensibility to the heart⁴.

³ *Mém. de Mad. de Motteville.*

⁴ That gallantry which, roving from object to object, finds no gratification but

Nor were the improvements in manners, during the reign of Louis, confined to the intercourse between the sexes, or to the habits of general politeness produced by a more rational system of gallantry. Duels, as we have had occasion to observe, were long permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and sometimes authorised by the magistrate, for terminating doubtful questions. But single combats, in resentment of private or personal injuries, did not become common till the reign of Francis I., who, in vindication of his character as a gentleman, sent a cartel of defiance to his rival, the emperor Charles V. The example was contagious. Thenceforth every one thought himself entitled to draw his sword, and to call on his adversary to make reparation for any affront or injury that seemed to touch his honour. The introduction of such an opinion among men of fierce courage, lofty sentiments, and rude manners, was productive of the most fatal consequences. A disdainful look, a disrespectful word, or even a haughty stride, sufficed to provoke a challenge. And much of the best blood in Christendom, in defiance of the laws, was wantonly spilled in these frivolous contests, which, toward the close of the sixteenth century, were scarcely less destructive than war itself. But the practice of duelling, though alike pernicious and absurd, has been followed by some beneficial effects. It has made men more respectful in their behaviour to each other, less ostentatious in conversation, and more tender of living characters, but especially of female reputation; and the gentleness of manners introduced by this restraint, while it has contributed to social happiness, has rendered duels,

in variety, and which characterises the present French manners, was not introduced till the minority of Louis XV. "Then," says M. Thomas, "a new court and new ideas changed all things. A bolder gallantry became the fashion. Shame was mutually communicated, and mutually pardoned; and levity, joining itself to excess, formed a corruption at the same time deep and frivolous, which laughed at every thing, that it might blush at nothing." *Essai sur le Caractère des Femmes*, p. 190.

themselves less frequent, by removing the causes of offence.

The progress of arts and literature, in France, kept pace with the progress of manners. As early as the reign of Francis I., who was deservedly styled the *Father of the French Muses*, a better taste in composition had been introduced. Rabelais and Montagne, whose native humour and good sense will ever make them be ranked among the greatest writers of their nation, gave a beginning to the French prose; and French verse was gradually polished by Marot, Ronsard, and Malherbe, while prose received new graces from Voiture and Balzac. At length Corneille produced the *Cid*, and Pascal the *Provincial Letters*. The former is justly admired as a great effort of poetical genius, both with regard to style and matter: and the latter work is still deemed an excellent model of prose composition, as well as of delicate raillery and sound reasoning.

The *Observations* of the French Academy on the *Cid* are a striking proof of the rapid progress of taste in modern times, as the *Cinna* of the same author is of the early excellence of the French drama. These observations were made at the desire of cardinal Richelieu, who had established that academy in 1635; and who, not satisfied with being reputed, what he certainly was, the most penetrating statesman in Europe, was ambitious of being thought, what he was not, the most elegant poet in France. He was more jealous of the fame of Corneille, than of the power of the house of Austria, and affairs stood still while he was concerting the criticism on the *Cid*⁵.

That criticism contributed greatly to the improvement of polite literature in France. Corneille was immediately followed by Moliere, Racine, Quinault, Boileau, La Fontaine, and all the fine writers who shed lustre over the early part of the reign of Louis XIV. The language of the ten-

5 Fontenelle, *Mém. de l'Acad. Française*.

der passions, little understood even by Corneille, was copied with success by madame de la Fayette in her ingenious novels, and afterwards no less happily introduced on the stage by Racine; especially in his two pathetic tragedies, *Phædra* and *Andromache*. The glaring figures of discourse, the pointed antithesis, the gingle of words, and every species of false wit and false refinement, which prevailed during the former reign, were banished with the romantic gallantry that had introduced them: and composition, like manners, returned in appearance to the simplicity of nature, adorned but not disguised by art. This elegant simplicity is more particularly to be found in the tragedies of Racine, the fables of La Fontaine, and the comedies of Moliere, whose wonderful talent for ridiculing whatever is affected or incongruous in behaviour, as well as of exposing vice and folly, contributed not a little to that happy change which at this time took place in the manners of the French nation.

The same good taste extended itself to all the fine arts. Several magnificent edifices were raised in the most correct style of architecture; sculpture was perfected by Girardon, of whose skill the mausoleum of cardinal Richelieu is a lasting monument: Poussin equaled Raphael in some branches of painting, while Rubens and Vandyke displayed the glories of the Flemish school; and Lulli set to excellent music the simple and passionate operas of Quinault. France and the neighbouring provinces, toward the latter part of the seventeenth century, were what Italy had been a century before, the favourite abodes of classic elegance.

Taste and politeness made a less rapid progress in other parts of Europe, during the period under review. Germany and the adjoining countries, from the league of Smalcalde to the peace of Westphalia, were perpetual scenes either of religious wars or religious disputes. But these disputes tended to enlighten the human mind, and

those wars to invigorate the human character, as well as to perfect the military science; an advantage in itself by no means contemptible, as that science is not only necessary to protect ingenuity against force, but is intimately connected with several others conducive to the happiness of mankind. All the powers of the soul were roused, and all the emotions of the heart called forth. Courage ceased to be an enthusiastic energy or rapacious impulse: it became a steady effort in vindication of the dearest interests of society. No longer the slaves of superstition, of blind belief, or blind opinion, determined and intelligent men firmly asserted their civil and religious rights. And Germany produced consummate generals, sound politicians, deep divines, and even acute philosophers, before she made any advances in the *belles lettres*. The reason is obvious.

The revival of learning in Europe had prepared the minds of men for receiving the doctrines of the Reformation, as soon as they were promulgated; and instead of being startled when the daring hand of Luther drew aside, or rather rent, the veil that covered established errors, the genius of the age, which had encouraged the attempt, applauded its success. Even before the appearance of Luther, Erasmus had confuted, with great eloquence and force of reasoning, several tenets of the Romish church (though it does not appear that he had any intention of overturning the established system of religion), and exposed others, as well as the learning of the schools, with much wit and pleasantry, to all the scorn of ridicule. Luther himself, though a stranger to elegance or taste in composition, zealously promoted the study of ancient literature, as necessary to a right understanding of the Scriptures, which he held up as the standard of religious truth. A knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages became common among the reformers: and though in general little capable of relishing the beauties of the classics, they insensibly acquired, by perusing them, a clearness of reasoning and a freedom of thinking, which not only enabled

them to triumph over their antagonists, but to investigate with accuracy several moral and political subjects.

These, instead of polite literature, employed the thoughts of those who were not altogether immersed in theological controversy; and the names of Grotius and Pufendorff are still mentioned with respect. They delineated, with no small degree of exactness, the great outlines of the human character, and the laws of civil society: it was reserved for later writers, for Smith and Ferguson, Montesquieu and Helvetius, to complete the picture. Their principles they derived partly from general reasoning, and partly from the political situation of Europe in that age. In Germany and the United Provinces, Protestants and Catholics were blended; and the experience of the destructive effects of persecution, not any profound investigation, seems first to have suggested the idea of mutual toleration, the most important principle established by the political and controversial writers of the seventeenth century. This subject demands particular attention.

In the present age it may seem incredible, and more especially in England, where the idea of toleration has become familiar, and where its beneficial effects are felt, that men should ever have been persecuted for their speculative opinions; or that a method of terminating their differences, so agreeable to the mild and charitable spirit of Christianity, did not immediately occur to the contending parties. But in order to be able to judge properly of this matter, we must transport ourselves back to the sixteenth century, when the sacred rights of conscience and of private judgement, obvious as they now appear, were little understood; when the idea of toleration, and even the word itself in the sense now affixed to it, were unknown among Christians. The cause of such singularity deserves to be traced.

Among the ancient pagans, whose deities were all local and tutelary, diversity of sentiment, concerning the object

or rites of religious worship, seems to have been no source of animosity ; because the acknowledgement that veneration was due to any one god, did not imply a denial of the existence or power of any other god. Nor were the modes and rites of worship, established in one country, incompatible with those of other nations. Therefore the errors in their theological system were of such a nature as to be consistent with concord ; and notwithstanding the amazing number of their divinities, as well as the infinite variety of their ceremonies, a social and tolerating spirit subsisted almost universally in the heathen world. But when the preachers of the Gospel declared one Supreme Being to be the sole object of religious veneration, and prescribed the form of worship most acceptable to him, whosoever admitted the truth of it, consequently held every other mode of religion to be absurd and impious. Hence arose the zeal of the first converts to the Christian faith in propagating its doctrines, and the ardour with which they endeavoured to overturn all other forms of worship. That ardour, and not, as commonly supposed, their religious system, drew upon them the indignation of the civil power. At length, Christianity ascended the throne of the Cæsars, and the cross was exalted in the Capitol. But although numbers, imitating the example of the court (which confined its favours chiefly to the followers of the new religion), crowded into the church, many still adhered to the ancient worship. Enraged at such obstinacy, the ministers of Jesus forgot so far the nature of their own mission, and the means which they ought to have employed for making proselytes, that they armed the imperial power against those unhappy men ; and as they could not persuade, they endeavoured to compel them to believe⁶.

In the mean time, controversies, concerning articles of faith, multiplied among the Christians themselves ; and the same compulsive measures, the same punishments, and the same threatenings, which had been directed against infidels

⁶ Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. i.—Robertson's *Hist. Charles V.* book xi.

and idolaters, were also used against heretics, or those who differed from the established church in matters of worship or doctrine. Every zealous disputant endeavoured to interest the civil magistrate in his cause, and several employed, in their turn, the secular arm to crush or extirpate their opponents⁷. In order to terminate these prevalent and mischievous dissensions, as well as to exalt their own consequence, the bishops of Rome asserted their claim to infallibility in explaining articles of faith, and deciding finally on all points of controversy: and, bold as the pretension was, they so far imposed on the credulity of mankind, as to procure its recognition. Perhaps a latent sense of the necessity either of universal freedom, or of a fixed standard in matters of religion, might assist the deceit. But however that may have been, it is certain that the remedy was worse than the disease. If wars and bloodshed were the too common effects of the diversity of opinions arising from different interpretations of Scripture, and of hereditary princes sometimes embracing one opinion, sometimes another, a total extinction of knowledge and inquiry, and of every noble virtue, was the consequence of the papal supremacy. It was held not only a resistance to truth, but an act of rebellion against the sacred authority of that unerring tribunal, to deny any doctrine to which it had given the sanction of its approbation; and the secular power, of which, by various arts, the popes had acquired the absolute direction in many countries, was instantly exerted to avenge both crimes. Thus a complete despotism was established, more debasing than any species of civil tyranny.

To this spiritual despotism had Europe been subjected for several centuries, before any one ventured to call in question the authority on which it was founded. Even after the æra of the Reformation, a right to extirpate *error* by *force* was universally allowed to be the privilege of those who

⁷ Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. i.—Robertson's *Hist. Charles V.* book xi.

possessed the knowledge of truth; and as every sect of Christians believed that was their peculiar gift, they all claimed and exercised, as far as they were able, the prerogatives which it was supposed to convey. The Catholics, as their system rested on the decisions of an infallible judge, never doubted that truth was on their side, and openly called on the civil power to repel the impious and heretical innovators, who had risen up against it. The Protestants, no less confident that their doctrine was well founded, required, with equal zeal, the princes of their party to crush such as presumed to discredit or oppose it; and Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments that were denounced against their own disciples by the church of Rome, on such as called in question any article in their several creeds^s. Nor was it till near the close of the seventeenth century, when the lights of philosophy had dispelled the mists of prejudice, that toleration was admitted under its present form; first into the United Provinces, and then into England. For although, by the pacification of Passau, and the Recess of Augsburg, the Lutherans and Romanists were mutually allowed to enjoy the free exercise of their religion in Germany, the followers of Calvin yet remained without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced against heretics. And after the treaty of Munster, concluded in more liberal times, had put the Calvinists on the same footing with the Lutherans, the former sanguinary laws still continued in force against other sects. But that treaty, which restored peace and tranquillity to the north of Europe, introduced order into the empire, and prepared the way for refinement, proved also the means of enlarging the sentiments of men, by affording them leisure to cultivate their minds; and Germany, less enslaved by civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, beheld, in process of time, taste and genius

flourish in a climate deemed peculiar to lettered industry and theological dullness, and her fame in arts and sciences as great as her renown in arms.

Even before this æra of public prosperity, the lamp of liberal science had illuminated Germany, on subjects remote from religious controversy. Copernicus had discovered the true theory of the heavens, which was afterward perfected by our immortal Newton; that the sun, the greatest body, is the centre of our planetary system, dispensing light and heat, and communicating circular motion to the various planets, Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, which move around him. And Kepler had ascertained the true figure of the orbits, and the proportions of the motions of those planets; that each planet moves in an ellipsis, which has one of its foci in the centre of the sun; that the higher planets not only move in greater circles; but also more slowly than those that are nearer; so that, on a double account, they are longer in performing their revolutions.

Nor was that bold spirit of investigation, which the Reformation had roused, confined to the countries that had renounced the pope's supremacy and the slavish doctrines of the Romish church. It had reached even Italy; where Galileo, by the invention, or at least the improvement, of the telescope, confirmed the system of Copernicus. He discovered the mountains in the moon, a planet attendant on the earth; the satellites of Jupiter; the phases of Venus; the spots in the sun, and its rotation, or turning on its own axis. But he was not suffered to unveil the mysteries of the heavens with impunity. Superstition took alarm at seeing her empire invaded. Galileo was cited before the inquisition, committed to prison, and commanded solemnly to abjure his *heresies* and *absurdities*; in regard to which, the following decree, an eternal disgrace to the brightest age of literature in modern Italy, was promulgated in 1633: "To say that the sun is in the
"centre, and without local motion, is a proposition absurd

“ and false in sound philosophy, and even heretical, being
“ expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture; and to say
“ that the earth is not placed in the centre of the universe,
“ nor immoveable, but that it has so much as a diurnal
“ motion, is also a proposition false and absurd in sound
“ philosophy, as well as erroneous in the faith!”

The influence of the Reformation on government and manners, was no less conspicuous than on philosophy. While the sovereigns of France and Spain rose into absolute power at the expense of their unhappy subjects, the people in every Protestant state acquired new privileges. Vice was depressed by the regular exertions of law, when the sanctuaries of the church were abolished, and the ecclesiastics themselves became amenable to punishment. This happy influence extended itself even to the church of Rome. The desire of equaling the reformers in those talents which had procured them respect; the necessity of acquiring the knowledge requisite for defending their own tenets, or refuting the arguments of their opponents, together with the emulation natural between rival churches, engaged the popish clergy to apply themselves to the study of useful science, which they cultivated with such assiduity and success, that they gradually grew as eminent in literature as they were formerly remarkable for ignorance. And the same principle, proceeding from the same source, occasioned a change no less salutary in their manners.

Various causes, which I have had occasion to enumerate in the course of my narration, had occurred in producing great licentiousness, and even a total dissoluteness of manners among the Romish ecclesiastics. Luther and his adherents began their attacks upon the church with such vehement invectives against these, that, in order to remove the scandal, and silence those declamations, greater decency of conduct was found necessary. And the principal reformers were so eminent, not only for the purity but even austerity of their manners, and had acquired such reputation among the people on that account, that the

popish clergy must have soon lost all credit, if they had not endeavoured to conform, in some measure, to the standard held up to them. They were beside sensible, that all their actions fell under the severe inspection of the Protestants, whom enmity and emulation prompted to observe and to stigmatise the smallest vice or impropriety in their conduct, with all the cruelty of revenge and all the exultation of triumph. Hence they became not only studious to avoid such irregularities as must give offence, but more intent on the acquisition of the virtues that might merit praise.

Nor has the influence of the Reformation been felt only by inferior members of the Romish church: it has extended to the sovereign pontiffs themselves. Violations of decorum, and even trespasses against morality, which passed without censure in those ages, when neither the power of the popes, nor the veneration of the people for their character, had any bounds—when there was no hostile eye to observe the errors in their conduct, nor any jealous adversary to inveigh against them—would now be liable to the severest animadversion, and excite general indignation and horror. The popes, aware of this, instead of rivaling the courts of temporal princes in gaiety, or surpassing them in licentiousness, have studied to assume manners more suitable to their ecclesiastical character; and by their humanity, their love of literature, their moderation, and even their piety, have made some atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predecessors.

The head of the church of Rome, however, not willing to rest what remained of his spiritual empire merely on the virtues and talents of its secular members, instituted a new monastic order, namely, that of the Jesuits; who, instead of being confined to the silence and solitude of the cloister, like other monks, were taught to consider themselves as formed for action; as chosen soldiers who, under the command of a general, were bound to exert themselves continually in the service of Christ, and of the pope, his

vicar on earth. To give more vigour and concert to their efforts, in opposing the enemies of the holy see, and in extending its dominion, this general or head of the order was invested with despotic authority over its members; and that they might have full leisure for such service, they were exempted from strict monastic observances. They were required to attend to the transactions of the great world, to study the dispositions of persons in power, and to cultivate their friendship⁹.

In consequence of these primary instructions, which infused a spirit of intrigue into the whole fraternity, the Jesuits considered the education of youth as their peculiar province: they aimed at being spiritual guides and confessors: they preached frequently, in order to attract the notice of the people; and they set out as missionaries, with a view to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the institution, as well as the singularity of its object, procured the society many admirers and patrons. The generals and other officers had the address to avail themselves of every circumstance in its favour; and in a short time, the number and influence of its members were very considerable. Before the beginning of the seventeenth century, only sixty years after the institution of their order, they had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every Catholic country in Europe. They had become the confessors of most of its monarchs; a function of no small importance in any reign, but, under a weak prince, superior even to that of minister. They were the spiritual guides of almost every person eminent for rank or power, and they possessed the highest degree of confidence and interest with the papal court, as the most zealous and able assertors of its dominion.

The advantages which an active and enterprising body of priests might derive from these circumstances, are obvious. As they formed the minds of men in youth, they

⁹ *Compte Rendu*, par M. de Monclar.—D'Alcibert, *sur la Destruc. de l'Ordre des Jesuites*.

retained an ascendant over them in their more advanced years. They possessed, at different periods, the direction of the most considerable courts in Europe; they mingled in all public affairs, and took part in every intrigue and revolution. With the power, the wealth of the order increased. The Jesuits acquired ample possessions in every popish kingdom; and, under the pretext of promoting the success of their missionaries, they obtained a special license from the court of Rome to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert¹⁰. In consequence of this permission, they engaged in an extensive and lucrative commerce, both in the East and West Indies, and they opened warehouses in different parts of Europe, where they vended their commodities. Not satisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial societies, and aimed at obtaining settlements. They accordingly gained possession of Paraguay, a large and fertile country in South America, and reigned as sovereigns over two or three hundred thousand subjects.

Unhappily for mankind, the vast influence which the Jesuits acquired by all these different means, was often exerted for the most pernicious purposes. Every Jesuit was taught to regard the interest of the order as his principal object, to which all other considerations were to be sacrificed; and as it was for the honour and advantage of the society, that its members should possess an ascendant over persons of rank and power, the Jesuits, in order to acquire and preserve such ascendant, were led to propagate a system of relaxed and pliant morality, which, accommodating itself to the passions of men, tolerated their imperfections, apparently justified their vices, and authorised almost every action that the most audacious or crafty politician could wish to commit¹¹.

In like manner, as the prosperity of the order was intimately connected with the preservation of the papal authority, the Jesuits, influenced by the same principle of

¹⁰ *Hist. des Jésuites*, tome iv.

¹¹ M. de Monclar, *ubi sup.*

attachment to the *interests* of their *society*, which may serve as a key to the genius of their policy, were the most zealous patrons of those doctrines which tend to exalt ecclesiastical power on the ruins of civil government. They attributed to the court of Rome a jurisdiction as extensive and absolute as was claimed by the most presumptuous pontiffs during the dark ages: they contended for the entire independence of ecclesiastics on the civil magistrate; and they published such tenets, concerning the duty of opposing princes who were enemies to the Catholic faith, as countenanced the most atrocious crimes, and tended to dissolve all the ties connecting subjects with their rulers¹².

As the order derived both reputation and authority from the zeal with which it stood forth in defence of the Romish church, against the attacks of the champions of the Reformation, its members, proud of this distinction, considered it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions, and to check the progress of the Protestants. They made use of every art, and employed every weapon against the reformed religion: they set themselves in opposition to every gentle and tolerating measure in its favour; and they incessantly stirred up against its followers all the rage of ecclesiastical and civil persecution. But they at length felt the lash of that persecution which they stimulated with such unfeeling rigour.

While Paul III. was instituting the order of Jesuits, and Italy exulting in her superiority in arts and letters, England, already separated from the holy see, and, like Germany, agitated by theological disputes, was groaning under the civil and religious tyranny of Henry VIII. This prince was a lover of letters, which he cultivated himself, and no less fond of the society of women than his friend and rival Francis I.; but his controversies with the court of Rome, and the sanguinary measures which he pursued in his domestic policy, threw a cloud over the manners and the studies

12 M. de Monclar, ubi sup.

of the nation, which the barbarities of his daughter Mary rendered yet darker, and which was scarcely dispelled before the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. Then the Muse, always the first in the train of literature, encouraged by the change in the manners, which became more gay, gallant, and stately, ventured once more to expand her wings; and Chaucer found a successor worthy of himself, in the celebrated Spenser.

The principal work of this poet is named the *Fairy Queen*. It is of the heroic kind, and was intended as a compliment to queen Elizabeth and her courtiers. But, instead of employing historical or traditional characters for that purpose, like Virgil, the most refined flatterer, if not the finest poet of antiquity, Spenser makes use of allegorical personages; a choice which has contributed to consign to neglect one of the most truly poetical compositions that genius ever produced, and which, notwithstanding the want of unity in the fable, and of probability in the incidents, would otherwise have continued to command attention. For the descriptions in the *Fairy Queen* are generally bold and striking, or soft and captivating; the shadowy figures are strongly delineated; the language is nervous and elegant, though somewhat obscure, through an affectation of antiquated phrases; and the versification is harmonious and flowing. But the thin allegory is every where seen through; the images are frequently coarse; and the extravagant manners of chivalry, which the author has faithfully copied, conspire to render his romantic fictions little interesting to the classical reader, whatever pleasure they may afford to the antiquary; while the disgust of the critic is completed by an absurd compound of Heathen and Christian mythology. He throws aside the poem with indignation, considered in its whole extent, after making every allowance for its not being finished, as a performance truly Gothic; but he admires particular passages: he adores the bewitching fancy

of Spenser, but laments his want of taste, and loaths his too-often indelicate and ill-wrought allegories.

Shakspeare, the other luminary of the virgin-reign, and the father of our drama, was more happy in his line of composition. Though unacquainted, as is generally believed, with the dramatic laws, or with any model worthy of his imitation, he has, by a bold delineation of general nature, and by adopting the solemn mythology of the North, witches, fairies, and ghosts, been able to affect the human mind more strongly than any other poet. By studying only the heart of man, his tragic scenes come directly to the heart; and by copying manners, undisguised by fashion, his comic humour is for ever new. Let us not however conclude that the three unities (time, place, and action or plot) dictated by reason and Aristotle, are unnecessary to the perfection of a dramatic poem, because Shakspeare, by the mere superiority of his genius, has been able to please, both in the closet and on the stage, without observing them.

Theatrical representation is *perfect* in proportion as it is *natural*; and that the observance of the unities contributes to render it so, will be disputed by no critic who understands the principles on which they are founded. A dramatic performance, in which the unities are observed, must therefore be best calculated for *representation*; and consequently for obtaining its end, if otherwise well constructed, by exciting mirth or awakening sorrow. Even Shakspeare's scenes would have acquired double force, had they proceeded in an unbroken succession, from the opening to the close of every act. Then indeed the scene may be shifted to a distance consistent with probability, and any portion of time may elapse between the acts, not destructive of the unity of the fable, without impairing the effect of the representation, or disturbing the dream of reality; for, as the modern drama is interrupted four times, which seem necessary for the relief of the

mind, there can be no reason for confining the scene to the same spot during the whole play, or the time exactly to that of the representation, as in the Grecian theatre, where the actors, or at least the chorus, did not leave the stage before the close of the piece.

The reign of James I. was distinguished by the labours of many eminent authors, both in prose and verse: but, in the writings of any of them, a good taste was scarcely discernible. That propensity to false wit and superfluous ornament, of which we so frequently have occasion to complain in the writings of Shakspeare, and which seems as inseparably connected with the revival, as simplicity is with the origin of letters, infected the whole nation. The pun was common in the pulpit, and the quibble was propagated from the throne. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, however, Raleigh's *History of the World*, and the translation of the Bible now in use, are striking proofs of the improvement of our language, and of the progress of English prose.

If we except the translation of Tasso by Fairfax, and some of the tragic scenes of Fletcher, the style of none of the poets of this reign can be mentioned with entire approbation. Jonson, though born with a vein of genuine humour, perfectly acquainted with the ancient classics, and possessed of sufficient taste to relish their beauties, was a rude mechanical writer. And the poems of Drayton, who was endowed with a fertile genius, with great facility of expression, and a happy descriptive talent, are thickly bespangled with all the splendid faults in composition.

As an example of Drayton's best manner, which is little known, I shall give an extract from the sixth book of his *Barons' Wars*.

“ Now waxing late, and after all these things,

“ Unto her chamber is the queen withdrawn¹³,

“ To whom a choice musician plays and sings,

“ Reposing her upon a *state* of lawn,

¹³ Isabella of France, widow of Edward II. of England.

“ In night-attire divinely glittering,
 “ As the approaching of the cheerful dawn ;
 “ Leaning upon the breast of Mortimer,
 “ Whose voice more than the music pleas'd her ear.

“ Where her fair breasts at liberty are let,
 “ Where *violet-veins* in *curious branches* flow ;
 “ Where Venus' swans and milky doves are set
 “ Upon the swelling mounts of *driven snow* ¹⁴ ;
 “ Where Love, whilst he to sport himself doth get,
 “ Hath lost his course, nor finds which way to go,
 “ Inclosed in this labyrinth about,
 “ Where let him wander still, yet ne'er get out.

“ Her loose gold hair, O gold thou art too base !
 “ Were it not sin to name those silk threads hair,
 “ Declining as to kiss her fairer face ?
 “ But no word's fair enough for thing so fair.
 “ O what high wond'rous epithet can grace
 “ Or give due praises to a thing so rare ?
 “ But where the pen fails, pencil cannot show it,
 “ Nor can't be known, unless the mind do know it.

“ She lays those *fingers* on his manly cheek,
 “ The god's pure *sceptres*, and the *darts of love* !
 “ Which with a *touch* might *make a tiger meek*,
 “ Or the main Atlas from his place remove ;

14 Perhaps the ingenious tracers of *Poetical Imitation* may discover a resemblance between those glowing verses and two lines in Mr. Hayley's justly admired sonnet, in the *Triumphs of Temper* :

“ A bosom, where the *blue meand'ring vein*
 “ Sheds a soft lustre through the *lucid snow*.”

And it will not require microscopic eyes to discover whence Mr. Gray caught the idea of the finest image in his celebrated historic Ode, after reading the following lines of Drayton :

“ *Berkeley*, whose fair seat hath been famous long,
 “ Let thy fair *buildings* shriek a *deadly sound*,
 “ And to the air complain thy grievous wrong,
 “ *Keeping the figure* of king Edward's *wound*.”

Barons' Wars, book v.

- “ So soft, so feeling, delicate, and sleek,
 “ As nature *wore* the *lilies* for a *glove* !
 “ As might *beget life* where was never none,
 “ And *put a spirit* into the *flintiest stone* ¹⁵ !”

Daniel, the poetical rival of Drayton, affected to write with greater purity; but he was by no means free from the bad taste of his age, as will appear by a single stanza of his *Civil War*, a poem seemingly written in emulation of the *Barons' Wars*.

- “ O War ! begot in pride and luxury,
 “ The child of Malice and revengeful Hate !
 “ Thou *impious-good*, and *good impiety*,
 “ Thou art the *FOUL-refiner* of a *state* !
 “ *Unjust-just* scourge of men's iniquity;
 “ *Sharp easer* of corruptions desperate !
 “ Is there no mean, but that a *sin-sick land*
 “ Must be *let blood* by such a boisterous hand ?”

During the tranquil part of the reign of Charles I. good taste began to gain ground. Charles himself was a competent judge of literature, a chaste writer, and a patron of the liberal arts. Vandyke was caressed at court, and Inigo Jones was encouraged to plan those public edifices, which do so much honour to his memory; while Lawes, and other eminent composers in the service of the king, set to manly music some of the finest English verses. But that spirit of faction and fanaticism, which subverted all law and order, and terminated in the ruin of the church and monarchy, obstructed the progress of letters, and prevented the arts from attaining the height to which they seemed to be hastening, or the manners from receiving the degree of polish, which they must soon have acquired, in the brilliant

15 Who can read these animated stanzas, and not be filled with indignation at the arrogant remark of Warburton?—"Selden did not disdain even to commend a *very ordinary poet*, one Michael Drayton!"—*Pref.* to his edit. of Shakspeare.

assemblies and public festivals of two persons of such elegant accomplishments as the king and queen.

Of the independents, and other bold fanatics, who rose on the ruins of the church, and flourished under the commonwealth, I have formerly had occasion to speak, in tracing the progress of Cromwell's ambition. But one visionary sect, by reason of its detachment from civil and military affairs, has hitherto escaped my notice; namely, the singular but respectable body of Quakers. The founder of this famous sect was one George Fox, born at Drayton in Leicestershire, in 1624, the son of a weaver, and bred a shoemaker. Being naturally of a melancholy disposition, and having early acquired an enthusiastic turn of mind, he abandoned his mechanical profession, and broke off all connexion with his friends and family, about the year 1647, when every ignorant fanatic imagined he could invent a new system of religion or government; and delivering himself wholly up to spiritual contemplations, he wandered through the country clothed in a leathern doublet, avoiding all attachments, and frequently passed whole days and nights in woods and gloomy caverns, without any other companion than his Bible. At length believing himself filled with the same divine inspiration, or *inward light*, which had guided the writers of that sacred book, he considered all external helps as unnecessary, and thought only of illuminating the breasts of others, by awakening that *hidden spark* of the Divinity, which, according to the doctrine of the mystics, dwells in the hearts of all men.

Proselytes were easily gained, in those days of general fanaticism, to a doctrine so flattering to human pride. Fox accordingly soon found himself surrounded by a number of disciples of both sexes; who, conceiving themselves actuated by a divine impulse, ran like Bacchanals through the towns and villages, declaiming against every fixed form of worship, and affronting the clergy in the very exercise of their religious functions. Even the women, for

getting the delicacy and decency befitting their character, bore a part in these disorders; and one female convert, more shameless than her sisters, went *naked* into Whitehall chapel, during the public service, when Cromwell was present, being moved by the spirit, she said, to appear *as a sign to the people*¹⁶.

But of all these new fanatics, who were sometimes thrown into prisons, sometimes into mad-houses, the most extravagant was James Naylor, a man of talents, who had been an officer in the parliamentary army, and was one of the first encouragers of George Fox. Elate with the success of his eloquence, in which he excelled all his brethren, and flattered with a resemblance between his own features and the common pictures of Jesus Christ, he fancied himself transformed into the Saviour of the World. He accordingly assumed the character of the Messiah, and was blasphemously styled by his followers, the *Prince of Peace*, the *only begotten son of God*, the *fairest among ten thousand*!—Conformably to that character, he pretended to heal the sick, and raise the dead. Women eagerly ministered unto him; and, in the pride of his heart, he triumphantly entered Bristol on horseback, attended by a crowd of his admirers of both sexes, who spread their garments and strewed flowers before him, exclaiming with a loud voice, “Hosanna to the Highest! “holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth¹⁷.” For this impious procession he was committed to prison by the magistrates, and afterward sent to London, where he was severely punished by the parliament, and thus restored to the right use of his understanding. But what, in this romantic instance of fanatical extravagance, chiefly merits attention, is, that the heads of the great council of the nation passed ten days in deliberating, whether they should consider Naylor as an impostor, a maniac, or a man divinely inspired¹⁸.

16 Neale's *Hist. of the Puritans*.

17 *Life and Trial of Naylor*.

18 Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. iv.

Fox and his disciples, while under the influence of that enthusiastic fury, which, beside other irregularities, prompted them to deliver their supposed inspirations without regard to time, place, or circumstances, were often so copiously filled with the spirit, that, like the priestess of the Delphic god, they were violently agitated in pouring it out, and visibly *quaked*; a circumstance which contributed to confirm the belief of their being actuated by a divine impulse, and procured them the name of *Quakers*, by which they are still known, though they call themselves Friends. But these wild transports soon subsided, and the quakers became, as at present, a decent and orderly set of men, distinguished only by civil and religious peculiarities, which are of sufficient importance to merit our notice in tracing the progress of society, and delineating the history of the human mind.

All the peculiarities of the quakers, both spiritual and moral, are the immediate consequences of their fundamental principle; "that they who endeavour by self-converse and contemplation to kindle *that spark of heavenly wisdom which lies concealed in the minds of all men* (and "is supposed to *blaze* in the breast of every quaker), will "feel a divine glow, behold an effusion of light, and hear "a celestial voice, proceeding from the inmost recesses "of their souls! leading them to all truth, and assuring "them of their union with the Supreme Being¹⁹." Thus consecrated in their own imagination, the members of this sect reject the use of prayers, hymns, and the various outward forms of devotion, by which the public worship of other Christians is distinguished. They neither observe festivals, use external ceremonies, nor suffer religion to be fettered with positive institutions; contemptuously slighting even baptism and the Lord's supper, by all other sects believed to be interwoven with the vitals of Christianity. They assemble, however, once a week, on the day appropriated by the generality of Christians to the celebration

19 Barclay's *Apology*, &c.

of divine worship ; but without any priest, or public teacher. All the members of the community, male and female, have an equal right to speak in their meetings. "Who," say they, "will presume to exclude from the liberty of exhorting the *brethren*, any person in whom Christ dwells, and by whom he speaks?" And the *sisters* have often been found more abundantly filled with the spirit ; though, on some occasions, both sexes have been so lost in self-contemplation, or destitute of internal ardour, that not a single effusion has been made. All have remained silent, or expressed their meaning only in groans, sighs, and sorrowful looks. On other occasions, many have warmly spoken at once, as if under the influence of a holy fury.

The same spiritual pride, and brotherly sense of equality, which dictated the religious system of the quakers, also govern their conduct in civil affairs. Disdaining to appear uncovered in the presence of any human being, or to express adulation or reverence by any word or motion, they reject all the forms of civility, invented by polished nations, and all the servile protestations demanded by usurping grandeur, which can have no place among the truly illuminated. They also refuse to confirm their legal testimony with an oath ; a solemnity which they consider as an insult on the integrity of that Spirit of Truth, with which they believe themselves animated. A simple notice is all their homage, and a plain affirmative their strongest asseveration.

But two of the most striking peculiarities of the quakers yet remain to be noticed. In consequence of their fundamental principle, which leads to a total detachment from the senses, to a detestation of worldly vanities, and of every object that can divert the mind from internal contemplation, they studiously avoid all the garniture of dress, even to an unnecessary button or loop ; all the pomp of equipage, and all the luxuries of the table. No female ornaments or varied colours of attire, among these sectaries, allure the eye ; no female accomplishments, no music, no

dancing, incite to sensuality!—though they are now no longer so austere as formerly, when beauty in its rudest state was considered as too attractive, and the chaste endearments of conjugal love were regarded with a degree of horror!

The crowning civil peculiarity of the quakers is their pacific principle. Unambitious of dominion, and shocked at the calamities of war, and the disasters of hostile opposition, they carry the mild spirit of the Gospel to the dangerous extreme of personal *non-resistance*; literally permitting the smiter of one cheek to inflict a blow on the other, and tamely yielding to the demands of rapacious violence all that it can crave! How different, in this respect, from the millenarians, and other sanguinary sectaries, who so long deluged England with blood²⁰!

During those times of faction and fanaticism, however, appeared many men of vast abilities. Then the force and the compass of our language were first fully tried in the public papers of the king and parliament, and in the bold eloquence of the leaders of the two parties. Then was roused, in political and theological controversy, the vigorous genius of John Milton, which afterward broke forth with so much lustre in the poem of *Paradise Lost*, unquestionably the greatest effort of human imagination. No poet, ancient or modern, is so sublime in his conceptions as Milton; and few have ever equaled him in boldness of description or strength of expression. Yet let us not, in blind idolatry, allow him the honour, which he seems to arrogate to himself, and which has seldom been denied him, of being the inventor of our blank verse. In

20 Even after the restoration of Charles II., a small body of the millenarians made a desperate effort to disturb the government. Rushing forth completely armed, under a daring fanatic named Venner, who had often conspired against Cromwell, and exclaiming, "No King but CHRIST!" they triumphantly paraded the streets of London for some hours; and before they could be fully mastered, as they fought not only with courage but concert, many lives were lost.—Burnet's *Hist of his own Times*, book ii.

the tragedies of Shakspeare are several passages as harmonious as any in the *Paradise Lost*, and as elegantly correct: though it must be admitted, that Milton invented that variety of pause, which renders English blank verse peculiarly proper for the heroic fable; where rhyme, how well soever constructed, is apt to cloy the ear by its monotony, and weaken the vigour of the versification, by the necessity of finding final words of similar sounds.

The truth of this remark is fully exemplified in the *Davidis* of Cowley; a work by no means destitute of merit in other respects. In favour of the smaller poems of this author, which were long much admired for their far-fetched metaphysical conceits, little can be said, although they are occasionally distinguished by that vigour of thought and expression peculiar to the troubled times in which he wrote—those that immediately preceded and followed the death of Charles I. He thus begins an Ode to Liberty:

- “ FREEDOM with virtue takes her seat :
- “ Her proper place, her only scene,
- “ Is in the golden mean.
- “ She lives not with the Poor, nor with the Great ;
- “ The wings of *those* Necessity has clipt,
- “ And they’re in Fortune’s Bridewell whipt
- “ To the laborious task of bread ;
- “ *These* are by various tyrants captive led.
- “ Now wild Ambition, with imperious force,
- “ Rides, reins, and spurs them, like th’ unruly horse ;
- “ And servile Avarice yokes them now,
- “ Like toilsome oxen, to the plough :
- “ And sometimes Lust, like the *misguiding light*,
- “ Draws them through all the labyrinths of night.”

But although the English tongue, during the civil wars, had acquired all the strength of which it is capable, it still wanted much of that delicacy which characterises the language of a polished people, and which it has now so fully attained. Waller, whose taste had been formed under the

first Charles, and who wrote during the brightest days of the second, is one of the chief refiners of our versification, as well as language. Of this refinement the following elegant lines, compared with those of any of our preceding poets, will furnish sufficient proof. They contain a wish of being transported to the Bermudas, or *Summer Islands*.

- “ Oh how I long my careless limbs to lay
 “ Under the plantain’s shade ! and all the day
 “ With amorous airs my fancy entertain,
 “ Invoke the Muses, and improve my vein.
 “ No passion there in my free breast shall move,
 “ None but the sweetest, best of passions, love !
 “ There while I sing, if gentle Love be by,
 “ That tunes my lute, and winds the strings so high,
 “ With the sweet sound of Saccharissa’s name
 “ I’ll make the listening savages grow tame.”

Waller was followed in his poetical walk by Dryden, who united sweetness with energy, and carried English rhyme in all its varieties to a high degree of perfection; while Lee, whose dramatic talent was great, introduced into blank verse that solemn pomp of sound, which was long much affected by our modern tragic poets; and the pathetic Otway (to whom Lee seems to stand in the same relation as Sophocles does to Euripides, or Corneille to Racine) brought tragedy down to the level of domestic life, and exemplified that simplicity of versification and expression which is so well suited to the language of the tender passions. But Otway, in other respects, is by no means so chaste a writer; nor was the reign of Charles II., though it was adorned by so many men of genius, the æra either of good taste or elegant manners in England.

Charles himself was a man of a social temper, of an easy address, and a lively and animated conversation. His courtiers partook much of the character of their prince: they were chiefly men of the world, and many of them were distinguished by their wit, gallantry, and spirit. But hav-

ing all experienced the insolence of pious tyranny, or been exposed to the neglect of poverty, they had imbibed, under the pressure of adversity, the most libertine opinions both in regard to religion and morals. And in greedily enjoying their good fortune after the Restoration; in retaliating selfishness, and contrasting the language and manners of hypocrisy, they shamefully violated the laws of decency. Exulting in the king's return, the whole royal party dissolved in thoughtless jollity; and even many of the republicans, especially the younger sort and the women, were glad to be released from the gloomy austerity of the commonwealth. A general relaxation of manners took place. Pleasure became the universal object, and love the prevailing taste. But that love was rather an appetite than a passion; and though the ladies sacrificed freely to it, they were never able to inspire their paramours either with sentiment or delicacy.

The same want of delicacy is observable in the literary productions of this reign. Even those intended for the stage, with very few exceptions, are shockingly licentious and indecent, as well as disfigured by extravagance and folly. Nor were the painters more chaste than the poets. Nymphs bathing, or voluptuously reposing on the verdant sod, were the common objects of the pencil. Even the female portraits of sir Peter Lely, naked and languishing, are more calculated to provoke loose desire, than to impress the mind with any idea of the respectable qualities of the ladies they were intended to represent. It may therefore be seriously questioned, whether the dissolute, though comparatively polished manners of this once reputed Augustan age, were not more hurtful to literature and the liberal arts in England, than the cant and fanaticism of the preceding period.

A better taste in literature, however, began to discover itself in the later productions of Dryden; the greater part of whose *Fables*, *Absalom and Ahithophel*, *Alexander's*

Feast, and several other pieces, written toward the close of the seventeenth century, are justly considered, notwithstanding some negligences, as the most masterly poetical compositions in our language. The same good taste extended itself to a sister art. Purcell, the celebrated author of the *Orpheus Britannicus*, set the principal lyric, and the airs in two of the dramatic pieces of Dryden, to music worthy of the poetry.

Dryden, during his latter years, also greatly excelled in prose; to which he gave an ease and energy, not to be found united in Clarendon or Temple, the two most celebrated prose-writers of that age. Clarendon's words are well chosen and happily arranged; but his spirit is frequently lost (and even his sense sometimes disappears) in the bewildering length of his periods. The style of Temple, though easy and flowing, wants force. The sermons, or Christian orations of archbishop Tillotson, have great merit, both in regard to style and matter. Dryden considered Tillotson as his master in prose composition.

The sciences made greater progress in England, during the course of the seventeenth century, than polite literature. Early in the reign of James I, sir Francis Bacon, who is justly considered, on account of the extent and variety of his talents, as one of the most extraordinary men that any nation ever produced, broke through the scholastic obscurity of the age, like the sun from behind a cloud, and showed mankind the necessity of thinking for themselves, in order to become truly learned. He began with taking a view of the various objects of human knowledge: he divided these objects into classes, examined what was already known in each of them, and drew up an immense catalogue of what yet remained to be discovered. He then showed the necessity of experimental physics, and of reasoning experimentally on moral subjects. If he did not himself greatly enlarge the bounds of any particular science, he was not less usefully employed in break-

ing the fetters of false philosophy, and conducting the lovers of truth to the proper method of cultivating the whole circle of the sciences.

That liberal spirit of inquiry which Bacon had awakened, soon communicated itself to his countrymen. Harvey, by reasoning alone, without any mixture of accident, discovered the *circulation* of the *blood*; and he had the happiness of establishing this capital discovery, during the reign of Charles I., by the most solid and convincing proofs. Posterity has added little to the arguments suggested by his industry and ingenuity.

Soon after the Restoration, the *Royal Society* was founded; and its members, in a few years, made many important discoveries in mathematics and natural philosophy, in which Wilkins, Wallis, and Boyle, had a great share. Nor were the other branches of science neglected. Hobbes, already distinguished by his writings, continued to unfold the principles of policy and morals with a bold but impious freedom. He represents man as naturally cruel, insocial, and unjust. His system, which was highly admired during the reign of Charles II., as it favours both tyranny and licentiousness, is now deservedly consigned to oblivion; but his language and his manner of reasoning are still held in estimation.

Shaftesbury, naturally of a benevolent temper, shocked with the debasing principles of Hobbes, and captivated with the generous visions of Plato, brought to light an enchanting system of morals, which every friend to humanity would wish to be true. And what is no small matter toward its confirmation, if it has not always obtained the approbation of the *wise*, it has seldom failed to conciliate the assent of the *good*; who are generally willing to believe, that the Divinity has implanted in the human breast a sense of right and wrong, independent of religion or custom; and that virtue is naturally as pleasing to the heart of man as beauty to his eye.

While Shaftesbury was conceiving that amiable theory of ethics, according to which *beauty* and *good* are united in the natural as well as in the moral world, which embroiders with brighter colours the robe of spring, and gives music to the autumnal blast; which reconciles man to the greatest calamities, from a conviction that all is ordered for the best, at the same time that it makes him enjoy with more sincere satisfaction the gifts of fortune, and the pleasures of society; Newton, surpassing all former astronomers, surveyed more fully, and established by demonstration that *harmonious* system of the universe, which had been discovered by Copernicus; and Locke, no less wonderful in his walk, untwisted the chain of human ideas, developed the process of thought, and opened a vista into the mysterious regions of the mind.

The philosophy of Newton, founded on experiment and demonstration, can never be sufficiently admired; and it particularly merits the attention of every gentleman, as an inacquaintance with the principle of *gravitation*, or with the theory of *light* and *colours*, would be sufficient to stamp an indelible mark of ignorance on the most respectable character. But the discovery of Locke, though now familiar—that all our IDEAS are *acquired* by *sensation* and *reflection*, and, consequently, that we *brought none into the world with us*—has had a more serious influence upon the opinions of mankind. It has not only rendered our reasonings concerning the *operations* of the human understanding more distinct, but has also induced us to reason concerning the nature of the *mind* itself, and its various powers and properties. In a word, it has served to introduce an universal system of scepticism, which has shaken every principle of religion and morals.

But the same philosophy which has unwisely called in question the divine origin of Christianity, and even the hinge on which it rests, the immortality of the soul; that philosophy which has endeavoured to cut off from man

the hope of heaven, has happily contributed to render his earthly habitation as comfortable as possible. It has turned its researches, with an inquisitive eye, towards every object that can be made subservient to the ease, pleasure, or convenience of life. Commerce and manufactures, government and police, have equally excited its attention. The arts, both useful and ornamental, have been disseminated over Europe, in consequence of this new manner of philosophising; and have all, unless we should perhaps except sculpture, been carried to a higher degree of perfection than in any former period in the history of the human race. Even here, however, an evil is discerned:—and where may not evils, either real or imaginary, be found? Commerce and the arts are supposed to have introduced luxury and effeminacy. But a certain degree of luxury is necessary to give activity to a state; and philosophers have not yet ascertained where true refinement ends, and effeminacy, or vicious luxury, begins.

LETTER XX.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Peace of Ryswick to the Grand Alliance, in 1701.

AS we approach toward our own times, the materials of history become much more abundant; and, as a more discriminating selection is therefore necessary, to
 A.D. 1697. preserve the memory from fatigue, I shall endeavour to throw into shade all unproductive negotiations and intrigues, as well as unimportant events, and to comprehend under one view the general transactions of Europe during the ensuing busy period. Happily the negotiations in regard to the Spanish succession, and the war in which so many of the great powers of the South and West afterward engaged, in consequence of that great dispute, are highly favourable to this design. In like manner, the

affairs of the North and the East are simplified, by the long and bloody contest between Charles XII. and Peter the Great; so that I hope to be able to bring forward, without confusion, the whole at once to the eye.

The first object that engaged the general attention of Europe after the peace of Ryswick, was the settlement of the Spanish succession. The declining health of Charles II., a prince who had long been in a languishing condition, and whose death was daily expected, gave new spirit to the intrigues of the competitors for his crown. These competitors were Louis XIV., the emperor Leopold, and the elector of Bavaria. Louis and the emperor were in the same degree of consanguinity to Charles, both being grandsons of Philip III. The dauphin and the emperor's eldest son Joseph, king of the Romans, had therefore a double claim, their mothers being daughters of Philip IV. The right of birth was in the house of Bourbon, the king and the dauphin being both descended from the eldest daughters of Spain; but the imperial family asserted, in support of their claim, beside the solemn and ratified renunciations (by Louis XIII. and XIV.) of all title to the Spanish succession, the blood of Maximilian, the common parent of both branches of the house of Austria—the right of male representation. The elector claimed, as the husband of an archduchess, the only surviving child of the emperor Leopold, by the infanta Margaret, second daughter of Philip IV., who had declared *HER* descendants the heirs of his crown, in preference to those of his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa; so that the son of the elector, in default of issue by Charles II., was entitled to the whole Spanish succession, unless the testament of Philip, and the renunciation of Maria Thérèse, on her marriage with the French monarch, were set aside.

Beside these legal titles to inheritance, the general interests of Europe required that the electoral prince of Bavaria should succeed to the Spanish monarchy. But

his two competitors were obstinate in their claims; the elector was unable to contend with either of them; and the king of England, though sufficiently disposed to preserve the balance of power, was in no condition to begin a new war. From a laudable, but perhaps too violent jealousy of liberty, the English parliament had passed a vote, soon after the peace of Ryswick, for reducing the army to seven thousand men, and had ordered that these should be *native* subjects¹; in consequence of which, when supported by a bill, the king, to his great mortification, was obliged to dismiss even his Dutch guards.

Thus circumstanced, William was ready to listen to any terms calculated to continue the repose of Europe. Louis, though better provided for war, was no less peaceably disposed; and, sensible that any attempt to treat with the emperor would be ineffectual, he proposed to the king of England a partition of the Spanish dominions, at the same time that he sent the marquis d'Harcourt, as his ambassador to the court of Madrid, with a view of procuring the whole. Leopold also sent an ambassador into Spain, where intrigues were carried high on both sides. The body of the Spanish nation favoured the lineal succession of the house of Bourbon; but the queen, who was a German princess, and who, by means of her creatures governed both the king and the kingdom, supported the pretensions of the emperor; and all the grandees, connected with the court, were in the same interest.

Meanwhile a treaty of partition was signed, through the temporising policy of William and Louis, by
A. D. 1698. England, Holland, and France. In this treaty it was stipulated, that, on the eventual demise of the king of Spain, his dominions should be divided in the following manner. Spain, her American empire, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands, were assigned to the prince of Bavaria; to the dauphin, the kingdom of Naples and

¹ *Journals*, Dec. 16, 1698.

Sicily, the ports on the Tuscan shore, and the marquisate of Final, in Italy; and, in Spain, the province of Guipuscoa, with all the Spanish territories on this side of the Pyrenées, or of the mountains of Navarre, Alava, and Biscay. To Charles, the emperor's second son, was allotted the dukedom of Milan².

The contracting powers naturally engaged to keep the treaty of partition a profound secret during the life of the king of Spain. But that condition, though necessary, could not easily be observed. As the avowed design of the alliance was the preservation of the repose of Europe, it became expedient to communicate the treaty to the emperor, and to gain his consent to a negotiation, which deprived him of the great object of his ambition. This difficult task was undertaken by William, from a persuasion of his own influence with Leopold. In the mean time, intelligence of the treaty was privately conveyed from Holland to Madrid. The Spanish ministry were filled with indignation, at finding a division of their monarchy made by foreigners, even during the life of their sovereign. The king immediately called an extraordinary council, to deliberate on so unprecedented a transaction; and the result, contrary to all expectation, but conformable to the laws of sound policy, was a will of Charles II., constituting the electoral prince of Bavaria his sole heir, according to the testamentary intentions of Philip IV.³

The king of Spain recovered in some degree from his illness, and the hopes and fears of Europe were suspended for a time. Meanwhile England and Holland had reason to be pleased with the will, as it was more favourable to a general balance of power than the partition treaty; but the sudden death of the prince of Bavaria, not without strong suspicions of poison, revived their apprehensions. Louis and William again negotiated; and a second treaty of partition was privately signed, by

A.D. 1699.

² De Torey, vol. i.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xvi.

³ Voltaire, *ibid*.

A. D. 1700. England, Holland, and France, notwithstanding the violent remonstrances of the court of Madrid against such a measure.

By this treaty it was agreed, that, on the eventual decease of Charles II. without issue, Spain and her American dominions should descend to Leopold's son Charles; that the dauphin's share should be nearly the same with the former assignment; and that the duke of Lorrain, ceding his territories to the dauphin, should enjoy the sovereignty of the Milanese. To prevent the conjunction of Spain and the imperial crown in the person of ONE prince, provision was made, that, in case of the death of the king of the Romans, the archduke Charles, if raised to that dignity, should not succeed to the Spanish throne. It was also stipulated, that no dauphin or king of France should ever wear the crown of Spain; and a secret article provided against the contingency of the emperor's refusing to accede to the treaty, as well as against any difficulties that might arise, in regard to the exchange proposed to the duke of Lorrain⁴.

From thus providing for the repose of the South of Europe, the attention of William was suddenly called toward the North, where two of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared upon the stage of human life, were rising into notice; Peter I. of Russia, and Charles XII. of Sweden. [But, before I take a survey of the conduct of these celebrated princes, a short retrospect will be necessary for the purpose of connecting the history of their reigns with my former communications relative to the affairs of the North.

The general government of the czar Alexis was honourable to himself and beneficial to his country, though he was not free from a tincture of cruelty and barbarism. He reformed the laws of Russia, encouraged commerce, improved the condition of his subjects, patronised the arts,

and rendered the nation more respectable and dignified in the eye of the world. He recovered Smolensko, and other important places which had been taken by the Polanders, of whose claims of dominion over the Cossacks he also obtained a transfer. The grand signor, Mohammed IV., jealous of the power which the czar had thus acquired, endeavoured to subdue the Cossack tribes; and he met with some success in his efforts; but his career was at length checked by the united arms of Poland and Russia.

Theodore, the eldest son and successor of Alexis, was not so imbecile in mind as he was weak in body; and, during his short reign, he consulted the interests of the community, showed himself superior to idle prejudice, and paved the way for future improvements. "He lived," says Sumarokoff, "the joy and delight of his people, and died amidst their sighs and tears. On the day of his decease, Moscow was in the same state of distress which Rome felt at the death of Titus."

The obvious incapacity of John, the brother of Theodore, suggested to the aspiring mind of his sister Sophia the idea of procuring for herself the effective sovereignty. No sooner had the popular czar resigned his breath, in 1682, than this princess took a very active part in the contest for power. Theodore had named his half-brother Peter for his successor; and the friends of this young prince (who was then only ten years of age) zealously laboured to enforce that appointment. Sophia, in the mean time, secured the barbarous aid of the Strelitzes, who put to death many of the chief partisans of her step-brother; and the weak John was proclaimed czar. But, as he expressed a wish that Peter should be joined with him in the sovereignty, Sophia and her military supporters agreed to this compromise, on condition of her being declared co-regent. She and her favourite Galitzin now ruled without control; but their administration was not so just or so patriotic as to secure the strong attachment of

the boyars or the people, the greater part of whom, observing the promising genius of young Peter, wished to have him for their sole sovereign. The mismanagement and ill success of a war with the Turks tended to increase the public discontent; and, when Peter had reached the age of seventeen, he was enabled to subvert the power of the obnoxious Sophia, by whose machinations his life was endangered. He confined her in a nunnery, and banished Galitzin to a distant part of the empire. John continued to bear the title of czar; but he was a mere pageant, and a cipher in the state⁵.

Frederic III. of Denmark, the contemporary of Alexis, had distinguished his reign by the introduction of absolute monarchy, to which his people were willing to submit, rather than groan under aristocratic oppression. In a regular national assembly (in 1661), the clergy and the commons voted for the surrender of their liberties to the king; and the intimidated nobles reluctantly concurred in that extraordinary resolution⁶. This was a bad precedent; but Frederic did not, in general, make an improper use of the indulgence. This prince was succeeded, in 1670, by Christian V., whose desire of humbling the Swedes led him into a war with that nation. Great valour was displayed on both sides, by sea as well as by land. Charles XI. then filled the Swedish throne; and, though he was at the same time embroiled with the emperor, the elector of Brandenburg, and the Dutch, he defended his dominions with ability and success. After the restoration of peace, he employed himself in the acquisition of arbitrary power, and became a tyrannical and rapacious monarch. He died in 1697, two years before Christian, leaving (by the sister of the Danish king) the prince who was afterward styled the Alexander of the North.]

The young czar Peter had already rendered himself formidable by the defeat of the Turks in 1696, and the tak-

⁵ Tooke's *Hist. of Russia*, vol. ii. ⁶ Molesworth's *Account of Denmark*, chap. vii.

ing of Azoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. This acquisition led to more extensive views. He resolved to make Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia; to connect the Dwina, the Wolga, and the Don, by means of canals; and thus to open a passage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caspian seas, and from those seas to the Northern Ocean⁷. The port of Archangel, frozen up for the greater part of the year, and which cannot be entered without a long, circuitous, and dangerous passage, he did not think sufficiently commodious; he therefore resolved to build a city upon the Baltic Sea, which should become the magazine of the North, and the capital of his extensive empire.

Several princes, before this illustrious barbarian, disgusted with the pursuits of ambition, or weary of the burthen of public affairs, had renounced their crowns, and taken refuge in the shade of indolence, or of philosophical retirement; but history affords no example of a sovereign who had divested himself of the royal character, in order to learn the art of governing better: this was a stretch of magnanimity reserved for Peter the Great. Though almost destitute himself of education, he discovered, by the natural force of his genius, and a few conversations with strangers, his own rude state and the savage condition of his subjects. He resolved to become worthy of the character of a MAN, to see men, and to have men to govern. Animated by the noble ambition of acquiring instruction, and of carrying back to his people the improvements of other nations, he quitted his dominions, in 1698, as a private gentleman in the retinue of three ambassadors, whom he sent to different courts of Europe.

As soon as Peter arrived at Amsterdam, which was the first place that particularly attracted his notice, he applied himself to the study of commerce and the mechanical

⁷ *Histoire de Russie, par Voltaire*, vol. i. composed from the most authentic materials, chiefly furnished by the court of Petersburg.

arts; and, to acquire the art of ship-building, he entered himself as a carpenter in one of the principal dock-yards, and laboured and lived, in all respects, as the common journeymen. At his leisure hours he studied natural philosophy, navigation, fortification, surgery, and such other sciences as might be necessary to the sovereign of a barbarous people. From Holland he passed over to England, where he perfected himself in the art of ship-building. King William, in order to gain his favour, entertained him with a naval review, made him a present of an elegant yacht, and permitted him to engage in his service a number of ingenious artificers. Thus instructed, and attended by several men of science, Peter returned to Russia through Germany and Poland, in the summer of 1699, with all the useful, and many of the ornamental arts in his train⁸.

The peace of Carlowitz, concluded before the return of the czar, seemed to afford him full leisure for the prosecution of those plans which he had formed for the civilisation of his subjects. But he was ambitious of the reputation and the fortune of a conqueror. The art of war was a new art, which it was necessary to teach his people; and valuable acquisitions, he thought, might easily be obtained, by joining the kings of Poland and Denmark against young Charles of Sweden. Beside, he wanted a port on the eastern shore of the Baltic, in order to facilitate the execution of his commercial schemes. He therefore resolved to make himself master of the province of Ingria, which lies to the north-east of Livonia, and had formerly been in possession of his ancestors. With this view, he entered into a league against Sweden with Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, who had succeeded the famous Sobieski on the throne of Poland. The war was begun by Frederic IV., king of Denmark, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, invaded the territories

⁸ Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, brother-in-law to Charles XII.⁹

In these ambitious projects the hostile princes were encouraged by the youth and inexperience of the king of Sweden, and by the little estimation in which he was held by foreign courts. Charles, however, suddenly gave the lie to public opinion, by discovering the greatest talents for war, accompanied with the most enterprising and heroic spirit. No sooner did the occasion call, than his bold genius began to show itself. Instead of being disconcerted at the intelligence of the powerful confederacy which had been formed against him, he seemed rather to rejoice at the opportunity which it would afford him of displaying his courage. Meanwhile he did not neglect the necessary preparations or precautions. He renewed the alliance of Sweden with England and Holland; and he sent an army into Pomerania, to be ready to support the duke of Holstein.

On Holstein the storm first fell. The Danes, led by the duke of Wirtemberg, and encouraged by the presence of their sovereign, invaded that duchy; and after taking some inconsiderable places, invested Toningen, while the Russians, Poles, and Saxons, entered Livonia and ^{May.} Ingria. The moment Charles was informed of the invasion of Holstein, he resolved to carry war into the kingdom of Denmark. He accordingly left his capital, never more to return thither, and embarked with his troops at Carls-croon, having appointed an extraordinary council, chosen from the senate, to regulate affairs during his absence. The Swedish fleet was joined at the mouth of the sound by a combined squadron of English and Dutch men of war, which William, both as king of England and stadtholder of Holland, had sent to the assistance of his ally. The Danish fleet, unable to face the enemy, retired under the guns of Copenhagen, which was bombarded; and the king of Denmark, who had failed in his attempt upon Toningen,

9 Voltaire. *Histoire de Charles XII.* founded entirely on original information.

was himself cooped up in Holstein, by some Swedish frigates cruising on the coast.

In this critical season, the enterprising spirit of the young king of Sweden suggested to him the means of finishing the war at a blow. He proposed to besiege Copenhagen by land, while the combined fleet blocked it up by sea. The idea was admired by all his generals, and the necessary preparations were made for a descent. The king himself, eager to reach the shore, leaped into the sea, sword in hand, where the water rose above his middle. His example was followed by all his officers and soldiers, who quickly put to flight the troops that attempted to oppose the debarkation. Charles, who had never before been present at a general discharge of musquets loaded with balls, asked a British officer, who stood near him, what occasioned that whistling which he heard. Being informed that it was the sound of the bullets, the king exclaimed, "This shall henceforth be my music¹⁰!"

The citizens of Copenhagen, filled with consternation, sent a deputation to Charles, beseeching him not to bombard the town. He on horseback received the deputies at the head of his regiment of guards. They fell on their knees before him; and he granted their request, on their agreeing to pay him four hundred thousand rix-dollars. In the mean time, the king of Denmark was in the most perilous situation; pressed by land on one side, and confined by sea on the other. The Swedes were in the heart of his dominions, and his capital and his fleet were both ready to fall into their hands. He could derive no hopes but from negotiation and submission. The king of England offered his mediation: the French ambassador also interposed his good offices; and a treaty, highly
 Aug. honourable to Charles, was concluded at Travendahl, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, to the exclusion of Russia and Poland¹¹.

10 Voltaire, ubi sup.

11 *Hist. du Nord*, tome ii.

While William was in this manner securing the peace of foreign nations, the most violent discontents prevailed in one of his own kingdoms. The Scots, in consequence of an act of parliament, agreeable to powers granted by the king to his commissioner, and confirmed by letters patent under the great seal, for establishing a company trading to Africa and the West Indies, with very extensive privileges, and an exemption from all duties for twenty-one years, had planted, in 1698, a colony on the isthmus of Darien, and founded a settlement, to which they gave the name of New Edinburgh. The whole nation built on this project the most extravagant ideas of success; and in order to support it, they had subscribed four hundred thousand pounds sterling¹². The situation of the settlement was well chosen; and much might have been reasonably expected from the persevering and enterprising spirit of the people, animated by the hope and the love of gold.

But the promise of the future greatness of New Edinburgh, the intended capital of New Caledonia, proved its ruin. Its vicinity to Porto Bello and Carthagena, at that time the great marts of the Spaniards in America—and the possibility which its situation afforded of cutting off all communication between these and the Port of Panama on the South Sea, whither the treasures of Peru were annually conveyed—filled the court of Madrid with the most alarming apprehensions. Warm remonstrances on the subject were accordingly presented by the Spanish ambassador at the court of England. The English also became jealous of the Scottish colony. They were apprehensive that many of their planters, allured by the prospect of golden mines, with which New Caledonia was said to abound, and the hopes of robbing the Spaniards with impunity, would be induced to abandon their former habitations, and retire thither; that ships of all nations, to the

great detriment of the English trade with the Spanish main, would resort to New Edinburgh, which was declared a free port; that the Buccaneers, and lawless adventurers of every denomination, would make it their principal rendezvous, as it would afford them an easy passage to the coasts of the South Sea, and, ultimately, an opening to all the treasures of Mexico and Peru¹³.

Influenced by these considerations, and afraid of a rupture with Spain, William sent secret orders to the governors of the English settlements, to hold no communication with the Scottish colony; nor, on any pretence whatsoever, to supply them with arms, ammunition, or provisions¹⁴. Thus deprived of all support in America, and receiving but slender supplies from Europe, the miserable remnant of the Scottish settlers in Darien were obliged to surrender to the Spaniards. Never, perhaps, were any people so mortified, as the Scots at this disaster. Disappointed in their golden dreams, and beggared by their unfortunate efforts, they were inflamed with rage and indignation against William, whom they accused, in the most virulent language, of duplicity, ingratitude, and inhumanity. With proper leaders, they would perhaps have risen in arms, and have thrown off his authority.

Nor were the people of England in a much better humour. Apprehensive that the second treaty of partition might involve them in a new continental war, they loudly exclaimed against it, as an unwarrantable invasion of the rights of nations. And the powers of the continent, in general, seemed equally dissatisfied with that treaty. The German princes, unwilling to be concerned in any alliance which might excite the resentment of the house of Austria, were cautious and dilatory in their answers: the Italian states, alarmed at the idea of seeing France in possession of Naples and other districts in their country, showed a strong disinclination to the treaty: the duke of Savoy, in

• 13 Burnet, book vi.

14 *Id. ibid.*

hopes of being able to barter his consent for some considerable advantage, affected a mysterious neutrality: the Swiss cantons declined acceding as guarantees; and the emperor expressed his astonishment, that any disposal should be made of the Spanish monarchy, without the consent of the present possessor and the states of the kingdom. He therefore refused to sign the treaty, until he should know the sentiments of his Catholic majesty, on a transaction in which the interests of both were so deeply concerned; remarking, that the contracting powers, in attempting to compel him, the *rightful heir*, to accept a *part* of his *inheritance* by a time limited, were guilty of a flagrant violation of the laws of justice and decorum¹⁵.

Leopold, in a word, rejected the treaty of partition, because he expected the succession to the whole Spanish monarchy; and though Louis had signed it, in order to quiet the jealousy of his neighbours, and had engaged, with the dauphin, not to accept any will, testament, or donation, contrary to it, he was not without hopes of supplanting the emperor in that rich inheritance. The inclinations of the king of Spain pointed toward the house of Austria; and, enraged at the projected partition of his dominions, he actually nominated the archduke his universal heir. But the hearts of the Spanish nation were alienated from that house, by the arrogance of the queen and her rapacious German favourites; and the court of Vienna took no care to conciliate their affections. On the other hand, the marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambassador, by his generosity, affability, and insinuating address, contributed greatly to remove the prejudices entertained by the Spaniards against his nation, and gained a powerful party to his master's interest at the court of Madrid¹⁶.

The Spanish grandees, as a body, were induced to favour the claims of the house of Bourbon; but its best

¹⁵ De Torcy.—Burnet.—Voltaire.

¹⁶ De Torcy, vol. i.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xvi.

friends were the clergy. Cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, taking advantage of the superstitious weakness of his sovereign, represented to him, that France only could maintain the succession entire: that the house of Austria was feeble and exhausted, and that any prince of that family must owe his chief support to detestable heretics. He advised his Catholic majesty, however, to consult the pope on this important subject; and Charles, notwithstanding his sickness, wrote a letter with his own hand, desiring the opinion of that infallible judge. Of a case of conscience, Innocent XII. made an affair of state. He was sensible, that the liberties of Italy in a great measure depended upon restraining the power of the house of Austria: he therefore declared, in answer to the devout king, that the laws of Spain, and the welfare of all Christendom, required him to give the preference to the family of Bourbon. The opinion of his holiness was supported by that of the Spanish clergy; and Charles, imagining that the salvation of his soul depended on following their advice, secretly made a will in which he annulled the renunciations of Maria Theresa, and named the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, as his successor in all his dominions¹⁷. The preference was given to this young prince, in order to prevent any alarm in Europe at the union of two such powerful monarchies as those of France and Spain; to preserve the Spanish monarchy entire and independent, yet do justice to the rights of blood.

Though this will of the king of Spain was not made known to any of the rival powers, the Spanish succession, as the death of Charles was hourly expected, engaged the solicitude of all. But the attention of William, the grand mover of the European system, was called off, before that event took place, to the *succession* of England, in consequence of the death of the duke of Gloucester, the son of the princess Anne, and the last male heir in the

Protestant line. Catholics were excluded from succeeding to the English crown, by the former act of settlement: it therefore became necessary now to proceed to Protestant females; and, as it was not probable that William or Anne would have any future issue, the eventual succession to the crown was settled by the parliament on Sophia, duchess-dowager of Hanover, and the heirs general of her body, being Protestants¹⁸. She was grand-daughter of James I. by the princess Elizabeth, married to the unfortunate elector Palatine. A. D. 1701.

This settlement of the crown was accompanied with certain limitations, or provisions for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject, which were supposed to have been overlooked at the Revolution. The principal of these were, that all affairs relative to government, cognisable by the privy-council, should be submitted to it, and that all resolutions therein taken should be signed by the members who advised or consented to them; that no pardon should be pleadable to an impeachment in parliament; that no person, who should possess any office under the king, or receive a pension from the crown, should be capable of sitting in the house of commons; that the commissions of the judges should be rendered permanent, and their salaries be ascertained and established; that, in the event of the devolution or transfer of the crown to a foreigner, the English nation should not be obliged, without the consent of parliament, to enter into any war for the defence of territories not depending on the kingdom of England; and that whoever should come to the possession of the throne, should join in communion with the church of England¹⁹. While the English were thus settling the succession to their crown, and coolly providing for the security of their liberties, all the free states of the continent were thrown into alarm, by the death of Charles of Spain,

¹⁸ *Journals*, April 14, 1701.

¹⁹ *Journals*, ubi supra.

and his will in favour of the house of Bourbon. Louis seemed at first to hesitate, whether he should accept the will or adhere to the treaty of partition. By the latter, France would have received a considerable accession of territory, and have had England and Holland for her allies against the emperor: by the former, she would have the glory of giving a master to her ancient rival, and the prospect of directing, through him, the Spanish councils, at the hazard of having the emperor, England, and Holland, for her enemies. This danger was foreseen; but Louis could not resist the vanity of placing his grandson on the throne of Spain. He accepted the will by the advice of his council²⁰; and the duke of Anjou, with the general consent of the Spanish nation, was crowned at Madrid, under the name of Philip V.

The French monarch, in order to justify his conduct to the king of England and the states-general, who loudly complained of his breach of faith, very plausibly urged, that the treaty of partition was not likely to answer the ends for which it had been negotiated; that the emperor had refused to accede to it; that it was approved by none of the princes to whom it had been communicated; that the people of England and Holland had expressed their dissatisfaction at the prospect of seeing France put in possession of Naples and Sicily; that the Spaniards were so determined against the division of their monarchy, that there would be a necessity of conquering them, before the treaty could be executed; that the whole Spanish succession would have devolved upon the archduke Charles, if France had rejected the will; the same courier, who brought it, having orders to proceed immediately to Vienna, with such an offer, in case of the refusal of the court of Versailles; that the conservation of the peace of Europe was what his most Christian majesty considered as

the chief object of the contracting parties; and that, true to this principle, he had only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the spirit of the treaty²¹.

Though these reasons were by no means satisfactory to William or the states, they cautiously concealed their resentment, as they were not in a condition to support it by any decisive measure. And it has been asserted, with some appearance of truth, that, if they had permitted Philip V. peaceably to enjoy the Spanish throne, he would have become, in a few years, as good a Spaniard as any of the preceding Philips, and have utterly excluded the influence of French counsels from the administration of his realm; whereas the confederacy that was afterward formed against him, and the war by which it was followed, threw him wholly into the hands of the French, because their fleets and armies were necessary to his defence, and gave France a sway over the Spanish councils, which she has ever since retained²².

It must, however, be confessed, that, independent of prejudice or passion, war had become unavoidable. To secure commerce and barriers, prevent an union of the powerful monarchies of France and Spain in any future period, and preserve, to a certain degree at least, an equilibrium of power, were matters of too great moment to England, Holland, and to Europe in general, to be suffered to depend on the moderation of the French, and the vigour of the Spanish councils, under a prince of the house of Bourbon, a grandson of Louis XIV., yet in his minority. Aware of this, and conscious of their own weakness, the Spaniards resigned themselves entirely to the guardianship of the French monarch. The regency commanded the viceroys of the provinces to obey his orders: a French squadron anchored in the port of Cadiz; another was sent to the protection of the Spanish settle-

21 Burnet, book vi.—De Torcy, tome i.

22 Bolingbroke's *Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*.

ments in America; and, under pretence that the states were making preparations for war, the court of France was empowered to take possession of the Dutch barrier in Flanders²³.

The elector of Bavaria, uncle to Philip V., and governor of the Spanish Netherlands, introduced on the January. same day, and at the same hour, French troops into all the barrier towns in Flanders, and seized the Dutch forces that were in garrison, to the number of twenty-two battalions. Overwhelmed with consternation at this event, especially when they reflected on their own defenceless condition, and the facility of an invasion from France, the states agreed to acknowledge the new king of Spain; and the French monarch, on receiving a letter to that purpose, ordered their troops to be set at liberty²⁴. The king of England was more firm and resolute; but having in vain attempted to draw the parliament, which consisted chiefly of Tories, and is supposed to have been under the influence of French gold, into his hostile views, he at last found it expedient to acknowledge the duke of Anjou as lawful sovereign of Spain, though Louis refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick²⁵.

The emperor now, of all the great powers of Europe, alone continued to dispute the title of Philip; but, though he alleged a prior right to the whole Spanish monarchy, he confined his immediate views to a part, and fixed upon the duchy of Milan, which he claimed as a fief of the empire. He accordingly issued his mandate to the inhabitants, commanding their obedience on pain of being considered as rebels. But the prince of Vaudemont, governor of that duchy, had already submitted to the new king of Spain, conformably to the will of Charles II. A body of French

23 *Mém. de Noailles*, tome i.—Burnet, book vi.

24 *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.—Burnet, book vi.

25 *Id. ibid.*

troops, at his requisition, had entered the Milanese territory. These were soon followed by a powerful army; and the duke of Savoy, whose daughter Philip had married in order to strengthen his interest on that side, was declared captain-general of the whole.

The emperor was not discouraged, by these formidable appearances, from pursuing his claim to the duchy of Milan. He sent an army of thirty thousand men into Italy, under prince Eugene, who forced the passage of the Adige, along which the French troops were posted; entered their entrenchments at Carpi, and obliged them to cover themselves behind the Mincio. In consequence of this and other advantages, the Imperialists became masters of all the country between the Adige and the Adda: they even penetrated into the Brescian territory, and the French found it necessary to retire beyond the Oglio²⁶.

Catinat, who was second in command, began to suspect that all the misfortunes of the French, in the field, could not proceed from the superior genius of prince Eugene. He became doubtful of the fidelity of the duke of Savoy, and communicated his suspicions to Louis, who, unwilling to believe that his interests could be betrayed by a prince so intimately connected with his family, ascribed these surmises to impatience or private disgust, and sent the *maréchal de Villeroy* to supersede Catinat. Anxious to signalise himself by some great action, Villeroy, in concert with the commander-in-chief, attempted to surprise the Imperialists in their camp at Chiari; but, the duke of Savoy having informed prince Eugene of the disposition of the intended attack, the French were repulsed with considerable loss²⁷.

During these operations in Italy, the English and Dutch were engaged in fruitless negotiations with France; which

²⁶ *Mém. de Feuquieres.*—Voltaire.

²⁷ *Mercuré Hist. et Politique.*—Henault, tome ii.

were continued rather to gain time for warlike preparations, than with any hope of preserving the peace of Europe. At last the departure of the French ambassador, D'Avaux, from the Hague, put an end to even the appearance of a negotiation: and the successes of the emperor, though by no means decisive, made his cause be viewed with a more favourable eye. He had already secured the elector of Brandenburg, through the channel of his vanity, by dignifying him with the title of King of Prussia. The German princes, in general, were induced to depart from their proposed neutrality. The king of England, though still thwarted by his parliament, had resolved upon a war; and the king of Denmark was ready to assist him with subsidiary troops²⁸.

In proportion as Leopold observed the increase of the inclination of the maritime powers for war, he rose in his demands with respect to the terms of the projected alliance. He at one time seemed determined to be satisfied with nothing less than the whole Spanish monarchy; but finding William and the states resolute against engaging in such an ambitious project, he moderated his views, and acceded to their proposals. They would only undertake to procure for him the Spanish dominions in Italy, and to recover Flanders, as a barrier for Holland. Matters being thus adjusted, the famous treaty, generally known by the name of the GRAND ALLIANCE, was signed by August 27. the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the king of England, and the states-general. The avowed objects of this treaty were, "to procure satisfaction to his imperial majesty in regard to the Spanish succession, obtain security to the English and Dutch for their dominions and commerce, prevent the union of the monarchies of France and Spain, and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish dominions in America." It was also stipulated, that the king of England and the states might

retain for themselves whatever lands and cities they should conquer in both Indies; and the contracting powers agreed to employ two months, in attempting to obtain, by amicable means, the satisfaction and security which they demanded²⁹.

While this confederacy, which afterward lighted, with so much fury, the flames of war in the southern parts of Europe, was in agitation, the north-east quarter was deeply involved in blood. Charles XII. no sooner raised the siege of Copenhagen, in consequence of his treaty with the king of Denmark, than he turned his arms against the Russians, who had undertaken the siege of Narva with eighty thousand men. Charles, with only ten thousand men, advanced to the relief of the place; and having carried, without difficulty, all the out-posts, he resolved to attack the Russian camp³⁰. As soon as the artillery had made a breach in the entrenchments, he ordered an assault to be made with screwed bayonets, under favour of a storm of snow, which the wind drove full in the face of the enemy. The Russians, for a time, stood the shock with firmness; but, after an engagement of three hours, their entrenchments were forced with great slaughter, and Charles entered Narva in triumph³¹. About eighteen thousand of the enemy are said to have been killed in the action; many were drowned; near thirty thousand were made prisoners; and all their magazines, artillery, and baggage, fell into the hands of the Swedes. Charles dismissed all his prisoners, after disarming them, except the officers, whom, however, he treated with great generosity.

The czar was not present in this battle. He had imprudently, though perhaps fortunately, left his camp, in order to forward the approach of another army, with which he hoped to surround the king of Sweden. When informed of the disaster before Narva, he was chagrined, but not discouraged. "I knew that the Swedes would beat us,"

²⁹ *Recueil des Traitez.*

³⁰ In November, 1700.

³¹ Voltaire, *Hist. de Charles XII.*

said he; “but, in time, they will teach us to become their “conquerors.” Conformably to this opinion, though at the head of forty thousand men, instead of advancing against the victor, he evacuated all the provinces he had invaded, and led back his raw troops into his own country; where he employed himself in disciplining them, and in civilising his people, not doubting that he should one day be able to crush his rival.

The king of Sweden, having passed the winter at Narva, took the field as soon as the season would permit, with all the towering hopes of a youthful conqueror. He entered Livonia, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Riga, which the king of Poland had in vain besieged in the preceding campaign. The Poles and Saxons were posted along the Duna, which is very broad at that place; and Charles, who lay on the opposite side of the river, was under the necessity of forcing a passage. This he effected, although with much difficulty; the Swedes being driven back into the river after they had formed themselves upon the land. Their young king rallied them in the water; and leading them to the charge in a more compact body, repulsed marechal Stenau, who commanded the Saxons, and advanced into the plain. There a general engagement ensued, and the Swedes obtained a complete victory. The enemy lost two thousand men, with all their artillery and baggage. The loss of the Swedes was not very considerable, though the duke of Courland penetrated three times into the heart of the king’s guards³².

Immediately after the victory, Charles advanced to Mittau, the capital of Courland. That city, and all the towns in the duchy, surrendered to him at discretion. His expedition thither was rather a journey than a military enterprise. From Courland he passed into Lithuania in victorious progress; and he felt a particular satisfaction, when he entered in triumph the town of Birzen, where

Augustus king of Poland, and the czar Peter, had planned his destruction but a few months before. It was here that, under the stimulating influence of resentment, he formed the great project of dethroning Augustus, by means of his own subjects. That prince had been accustomed to govern despotically in Saxony; and finally imagining that he might exercise the same authority in Poland, as in his hereditary dominions, he lost the hearts of his new people. The Poles murmured at seeing their towns enslaved by Saxon garrisons, and their frontiers covered with Russian armies. More jealous of their liberty than ambitious of conquest, they considered the war with Sweden as an artful measure of the court, in order to furnish a pretext for the introduction of foreign troops³³.

Charles resolved to take advantage of these discontents, and succeeded beyond his fondest hopes. But in the prosecution of this, and his other ambitious projects, we must leave him for a time, that we may contemplate a more important scene of action.

LETTER XXI.

History of Europe, from the Beginning of the General War, in 1701, to the Offers of Peace made by France, in 1706, and the Union of England and Scotland.

NOTWITHSTANDING the alliance which the king of England had concluded with the emperor and the states-general, it may be questioned whether he could have prevailed upon his people to engage heartily in a new continental war, had it not been for an unforeseen measure, which roused their resentment against France. Soon after the alliance had been formed, James II. died Sept. 5,
1701. at St. Germain's; and Louis, in violation of the

treaty of Ryswick, acknowledged the son of that unfortunate prince king of Great-Britain and Ireland, under the title of James III.

Whether Louis was prompted to this measure by generosity of sentiment, or what the French writers term *the elevation and sensibility of his great soul*—by the tears of the widow of the deceased prince, seconded by the entreaties of madame de Maintenon—or by political motives—is a matter of very little consequence. It is probable, however, that he was partly influenced by political considerations; that, believing war to be unavoidable, he hoped, by thus encouraging the Jacobites, to be able to disturb the English government; especially as the life of William, from his declining health, was not expected to be greatly prolonged, and the party in favour of the direct line of succession was still powerful in each of the three British kingdoms. But whatever might be the motive of the French monarch for such a measure, whether it sprang from weakness, generosity, or selfishness, it hurried him into a war, for which he was very little prepared, and which reduced him, in a few years, from the highest pinnacle of grandeur, to the lowest state of despondency. France, nearly exhausted by her former efforts, had not yet had time to recover her strength; and Spain, languishing under every kind of political malady, was only a load upon her shoulders. But the supply of the precious metals, which she was suffered, by the negligence of the maritime powers, to procure from the Spanish dominions in America, and particularly from those near the South Sea, enabled her to maintain the contest much longer than would have been possible for her merely with her own internal resources¹.

The marquis de Torcy attempted in vain to apologise to the king of England for the conduct of his master: the affront to William was too flagrant to be patiently borne. He instantly recalled his ambassador from the court of France,

1 Bolingbroke's *Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*.

and ordered the French envoy to quit his dominions. Nor did the parliament, to which William made a speech well suited to the occasion, discover less resentment at the insult offered by Louis to the sovereign and the nation, in presuming to declare who should be king of England, and in naming a person excluded from the succession by an act of the whole legislature. They passed a bill of attainer against the pretended prince of Wales, A. D. 1702. and also a bill obliging all persons, who held any office in church or state, to abjure his claim to the crown. They entered warmly into the idea of the war, which was eagerly desired by the people; voted forty thousand men for land-service, agreeably to the terms of the Grand Alliance, and an equal number for the navy. And they presented an address to the throne, requesting the king to insert in the treaty an article, which was readily assented to by the contracting powers, that no peace should be concluded with the French monarch, until he should make reparation for the late affront and indignity?

William, thus supported in his favourite scheme, by the unanimous voice of his parliament and people, was making extraordinary preparations for opening the campaign, when a fall from his horse threw him into a fever, March 8. which put a period to his life, but not to his bold designs. He was a prince of great vigour of mind, firmness of temper, and intrepidity of spirit; but ungraceful in his person and address, disgustingly cold in his manner, and dry, silent, and solitary, in his humour. To a happy concurrence of circumstances, and a steady perseverance in his plans, rather than to great or uncommon talents, either in a civil or military capacity, he owed that high reputation, and extensive influence, which he so long enjoyed among the princes of Christendom. He was, however, an able politician, and a good soldier, though not a

great commander. He has been severely and justly blamed for the intrigues which he employed to dethrone his uncle and father-in-law. But as William's heart seems to have been as dead to the sympathetic feelings, as his soul was insensible to the charms of literature and the beauties of the elegant arts, it is possible that, while guiding the great political system, he might be led by the illusions of ambition, under the appearance of principle, to think the ties of blood, and even the right of inheritance, a necessary sacrifice to the welfare of Europe, and the interests of the reformed religion. England, at least, was obliged to him for maintaining her cause, in her grand struggle for liberty and a Protestant succession. But she has dearly paid for those blessings, by being involved in wasting foreign wars, partly indeed rendered necessary by the supineness of her two preceding princes, but in which she ought naturally to have had no concern; by the introduction of the infamous practice of corrupting parliaments, in order to engage them to support those wars; and by their unavoidable consequence, a grievous national debt, which, daily accumulating, and augmenting the weight of government, threatens us with the worst of evils³.

The death of the king of England threw the allies into the utmost consternation, and occasioned the highest joy at the court of France. But that joy was of short dura-

3 A certain proportion of public debt, by increasing circulation, and creating a new species of money, always ready to be employed in any beneficial undertaking, by means of its transferable quality, and yet producing some profit, even while it lies idle, is supposed to be of advantage to a trading people. But what that proportion may be, no politician has hitherto pretended to determine. It is however certain, that the national debt of England has long exceeded all calculations of commercial benefit, and has even gone far beyond what it was thought, as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the kingdom could bear, without the risque of speedy ruin; and that the numerous taxes, levied to pay the interest of this enormous debt, by enhancing the price of the necessaries of life, of labour, and consequently of every species of manufacture, have injured the sale of our commodities in foreign markets; have strengthened the enslaving influence of the crown, by increasing the number of its dependents, and have broken in some measure the free spirit of the people, by multiplying their necessities.

tion. The quiet succession of Anne, the eldest surviving daughter of James II., to the English throne, conformably to the Act of Settlement, and her early declaration of her resolution to pursue the objects of the Grand Alliance, revived the spirit of the confederates; while the choice of her ministers, and the vigour of their measures, blasted all the hopes that Louis and the court of St. Germain had founded on the decease of William. Lord Godolphin was placed at the head of the treasury; and the earl of Marlborough, whose eldest daughter was married to Godolphin's son, and whose wife had acquired an absolute ascendant over the queen, was appointed commander-in-chief of the English forces in Flanders, and immediately dispatched to Holland, in the character of ambassador extraordinary to the states⁴.

Thus connected by family interest, as well as political views, these two great men conducted with harmony the affairs of England, and even acquired a more decided influence on the continent than had ever been possessed by William. They not only kept more compact and entire all the parts of that vast machine, the Grand Alliance, but communicated a more rapid and vigorous motion to the whole. The earl of Marlborough succeeded in every part of his negotiation with the states; he animated them to a full exertion of their strength; and gained so far on their confidence, that they raised him to the chief command of their troops. All the allies engaged, with alacrity, to furnish their several quotas; and war was declared against France, on the same day, at London, the Hague, and Vienna⁵.

The first campaign, however, was not distinguished by any great event. In Italy the Imperialists, under prince Eugene, being outnumbered by the combined armies of France and Spain, gained no advantage. There Philip V.

⁴ Burnet, book vii.

⁵ Id. *ibid.*

(having left the government of his new kingdom in the hands of the queen, assisted by a council, and passed into Naples) nominally commanded in person ⁶, and but nominally; all the operations being really directed by the duke de Vendome. His presence, however, inspired confidence into his troops; and prince Eugene was not only constrained to relinquish the blockade of Mantua, but in some degree worsted, in an attempt to surprise Vendome, near Luzzara ⁷.

The Imperialists were not more successful on the Upper Rhine; where the prince of Baden, though elated with the reduction of Landau, was defeated at Friedlingen, by the marquis de Villars, who was immediately after created a marechal of France. "I have heard," says Voltaire, "marechal Villars declare more than once, that, as he "was marching at the head of his infantry, after the battle was gained, a voice called, *We are undone!* On "hearing this, all his troops fled. He ran after them, "crying, *Come back, my friends! the victory is ours. Long "live the king!* The trembling soldiers repeated, *Long "live the king!* but continued to fly: and the marquis "found the utmost difficulty in rallying the conquerors ⁸." On such trivial circumstances will the issue of the greatest battles often depend. Had a single regiment of Imperialists appeared during this panic, the French, so lately victorious, would have been totally routed.

The house of Bourbon was less fortunate on the side of Flanders. The allies began the campaign with the siege of Keyser'swaert, which the elector of Cologne had placed in the hands of the French, and which surrendered after a

⁶ The parting of Philip and his young queen was preceded by many struggles of tenderness. One day, while both were bathed in tears, this amiable and accomplished princess hearing some of the courtiers ask the king if he should pass the night with her, all her sensibility was roused, her presence of mind forsook her, and she passionately exclaimed, "Oh, my God! of the short time that remains to us, would "they cut off even the nights?" *Mém. de Noailles*, tome ii.

⁷ Henault, 1702.

⁸ *Siècle*, xvii.

siege of two months. It was expected that the duke of Burgundy, who had the advice and assistance of marechal Boufflers, would either have attempted the relief of that important place, or have invested some other; but, by strange misconduct, he lay almost totally inactive during the siege, and till the earl of Marlborough arrived to take the command of the allied army⁹.

Marlborough, who was no less prudent than active, and who may be said to have united the enterprising spirit of the hero to the caution and foresight of the consummate general, resolved immediately to attack the duke of Burgundy; and had he not been restrained by the timidity of the Dutch field-deputies, he might have gained a complete victory over the French¹⁰. Though thus confined in his operations, the English commander contrived, by masterly movements, by marches, and counter-marches, to throw himself between the enemy and the principal towns of Spanish Guelderland; and he not only reduced Venlo, Ruremond, and Stevenswaert, in that province, but also took Liege. By this success, the navigation of the Maes was opened, and a free communication obtained with Maestricht.

The operations at sea were even more favourable to the allies, than those by land; though not in all respects equal to their hopes. The confederate fleet, under sir George Rooke, consisting of fifty English and Dutch ships of the line, with twelve thousand soldiers on board, commanded by the duke of Ormond, appeared before Cadiz, and summoned that city to surrender to the house of Austria or run the hazard of an attack from such a formidable armament. But the governor paid no regard to this threat. The place was much stronger than the besiegers expected; so that

⁹ *Mém. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

¹⁰ Burnet, book vii.—Duke of Berwick, vol. 1.—“We were posted in such a manner,” says the duke, “that we should have been beaten without being able to stir; our left being very high, and our right sunk into a *cul-de-sac* between two rivulets.”

the duke found it necessary to re-embark his troops after they had taken fort St. Catharine, made an unsuccessful attempt on fort Matagorda, and pillaged port St. Mary, contrary to his express orders. His next attempt was more fortunate.

The confederates, after leaving Cadiz, sailed for Vigo, where the galleons, under convoy of twenty-three French ships of war, commanded by the count de Chateau-Renaud, had recently arrived from America. As the wealth which those galleons contained was considered as the chief resource of the Spanish monarchy, and even of the whole house of Bourbon, Louis expecting to share in it, the utmost precaution had been taken to secure them. They were removed into a basin, through a narrow entrance, one side of which was defended by a fort, the other by platforms mounted with cannon. A boom was thrown across the mouth of the basin, and within the boom the French squadron was drawn up. But these obstacles were not sufficient to discourage the confederates, when animated by the hopes of so rich a booty. The duke of Ormond, having landed part of his troops, took the castle: the boom was broken by the fleet; and the French admiral, perceiving that all farther resistance would be vain, set fire to his ships. The galleons followed the desperate example; but the English and Dutch were at hand, to extinguish the

flames. Six ships of war were taken, seven sunk,
Oct. 12. and nine burned. Of thirteen galleons, nine fell

into the hands of the conquerors, and four were destroyed; and although the greater part of the treasure had been landed, and carried to Lagos, the booty was still very considerable, and the consternation of the house of Bourbon excessive ¹¹.

Before intelligence of this important blow arrived in

¹¹ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome ii.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iii. Louis, who combined, with the most insatiable and bloody ambition, a strange mixture of piety and resignation, writes thus in a consolatory letter to the queen of Spain, then at the head of the government:—"Events are in the hands of God, who often draws

England, both houses of parliament had congratulated her majesty on the success of her arms, under the earl of Marlborough, who was soon after created a duke; and liberal supplies were voted for carrying on the war. The good humour of the parliament was increased, by the news of the destruction of the enemy's fleet at Vigo: the hopes of the nation ran high; and the most vigorous preparations were made for future success. The duke of Savoy, who had been long wavering, openly deserted the interest of France and Spain, and concluded a A. D. 1703. treaty with the emperor, to the astonishment of the house of Bourbon; he being not only a grandson of Louis XIII., but father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy and the young king of Spain. From motives of interest, Peter II. of Portugal also united himself to the confederates¹².

To the defection of those two princes the French ascribed their subsequent misfortunes in the war. Louis, however, made great preparations for opening the next campaign, and was by no means deficient in success. His firm ally, the elector of Bavaria, carried on hostilities with vigour in the heart of Germany. He took Neuburg early in the season; defeated the Imperialists near Passau; and, having seized Ratisbon, was joined at Dutlingen by Villars. Afterward, disappointed in an attempt to open a communication with the French army in Italy, he rejoined the marshal in Suabia. They crossed the Danube; and Villars, understanding that the count de Stirum, at the head of twenty thousand men, was on his march to join the formidable army of the prince of Baden, near Donawert, said to the elector, "We must prevent this: we must advance, and attack Stirum." The elector hesitated, and said he would consult his ministers and generals. "I am your minister and general!" replied Villars:

"good out of what we consider as our greatest misfortunes. If it is possible to prevent the bad effects of that disaster which has happened, your majesty has prevented them." *Mém. de Noailles.*

¹² Burnet.—Voltaire.

—"Can you want any other counsel than mine, when the question is about giving battle?"—Full of apprehension for his dominions, the elector was still averse from the marechal's proposal, and not a little displeased at this freedom. "Well!" said Villars, "if your highness will not seise this opportunity with your Bavarians, I will engage with the French only:—it must not be lost." He accordingly ordered his troops to march; and the elector, though filled with indignation, found himself under the necessity of fighting against his judgement¹³. They at Sept. 20, tacked the enemy in the plains of Hochstet, and N. S. triumphed. Two thousand of the Imperialists were killed; a greater number were made prisoners; and all their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the conquerors. The victorious army put the elector in possession of Augsburg; and, the road to Vienna being thus laid open, the emperor trembled in his capital¹⁴.

The consternation of Leopold was, in some measure, excusable. The duke of Burgundy, with the marechals Tallard and Vauban, had reduced Old Brisac; and Tallard, before the end of the campaign, not only retook Landau, but defeated an army of the allies, under the prince of Hesse, who had advanced to its relief. In Italy, where Staremberg commanded for the emperor, the duke de Vendome disarmed, by surprise, the troops of the duke of Savoy, took Bersello, and gained an advantage over general Visconti¹⁵.

The French were less successful in the Netherlands; where the duke of Marlborough, having concerted measures with the states, was enabled to appear early in the field. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bonne, a strong city in the circle of the Lower Rhine, and the usual residence of the elector of Cologne. Though gallantly defended by the marquis d'Alegre, it was forced to surrender,

¹³ These particulars are related by Voltaire, from the manuscript *Memoirs of Villars*, written by himself. *Siècle*, chap. xvii.

¹⁴ Id. *ibid*.

¹⁵ Burnet.—Voltaire.—Henault.

after a siege of about three weeks. But notwithstanding this early success, and the supposed weakness of the enemy, Marlborough could not distinguish the campaign by any signal achievement; the French, under Boufflers and Villeroy, keeping cautiously within their lines, and the English general not judging it prudent to attempt to force them. He therefore contented himself with the conquest of Huy and Limburg. Gueldres, after a long blockade, also surrendered to the allies¹⁶.

These acquisitions, however, were by no means a balance to the advantages of the enemy in other quarters, particularly as the operations of the allies at sea, during the summer, had been languid and indecisive—in some respects unfortunate; and their negligence so great, that the Spanish treasure from the Havannah, the joint produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, had arrived safe, under convoy of a French fleet, and furnished the house of Bourbon with fresh resources for continuing the war. But the confederates were not discouraged by their losses, or by an insurrection in Hungary, which spread devastation to the gates of Vienna. The English parliament, seised with a kind of military fury, granted very liberal supplies for the ensuing campaign; and the emperor, emboldened by the alliance of Portugal, from which a passage might be opened into the heart of the disputed monarchy, ordered his son Charles to assume the title of king of Spain, he himself and the king of the Romans renouncing all claim to any part of the succession. Immediately after this ambitious step, the archduke set out for the Hague. From Holland, he passed over to England, where he was treated with great respect; and he was conducted to Lisbon by a powerful fleet, having on board a considerable body of land forces¹⁷.

While the queen of England was exerting herself with

¹⁶ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.—Burnet, book vii.

¹⁷ Burnet.—Voltaire.

so much vigour in a foreign quarrel, in which her subjects were little interested, great disorders occurred in her own dominions. The ferment in Scotland, occasioned by the miscarriage of the settlement at Darien, had not fully subsided; and although that kingdom readily acknowledged the queen's authority, strong jealousies there prevailed, among all ranks of men, respecting the independence of their crown and the freedom of their commerce. These jealousies were fomented by the insidious arts of the Jacobites, and the intrigues of the court of St. Germain, aided by a political oversight.

When the English legislature settled the succession of the crown on the house of Hanover, king William had neglected to take the same precaution in regard to Scotland; so that the succession to that crown was still open. This circumstance was now eagerly seized by two sets of men:—by the adherents of the house of Stuart, who hoped to bring in the pretended prince of Wales; and by some real patriots, who meant to make use of it, in order to rescue their country from that abject dependence, and even slavery, into which it had fallen, and in which it had continued, ever since its native sovereigns had added the weight of the crown of England to their ancient prerogative. Beside these men, many others, who were well disposed to the Protestant succession, zealously opposed the settlement of the Scottish crown on the descendants of the princess Sophia, before the ratification of certain articles, which should provide for the independence of the kingdom, or unite it intimately with England¹⁸.

Nor was the English nation free from discontents. The queen, by throwing herself into the hands of the Tories, had roused the resentment of the Whigs, who were in a manner proscribed, and debarred from office; and only an ardent desire of accomplishing the purpose of the Grand Alliance, which they themselves had formed, had

18 Lockhart's *Mem.*—Burnet, book vii.

hitherto prevented them from obstructing the measures of government. But their patience, under neglect, was at last worn out: they became jealous, and not without reason, of designs against the Protestant succession. The Tories, intoxicated with their good fortune, had revived all the exploded high-monarchical and high-church principles; and conjecturing that the queen must naturally be disposed to favour the succession of her brother, several of her ministers held a secret correspondence with the court of St. Germain, and hopes were even entertained by that court of obtaining a speedy repeal of the act of settlement¹⁹.

To forward these views, and complete the ruin of their political opponents, the Tories pretended, that both the church and monarchy were in danger, from the prevalence of presbyterian and republican principles; and a bill against occasional conformity, which would have excluded all dissenters, and consequently a great number of the Whigs, from civil offices and public employments, was twice presented to parliament, and as often rejected²⁰. The failure of this favourite measure, and several other circumstances, indicating the strength of ^{A. D. 1704.} the Whigs, induced Marlborough and Godolphin, who are said to have been Tories, and even Jacobites in their hearts, to conceal their sentiments, and seek support from that powerful party. They foresaw a formidable opposition; and persuaded the queen, that it was necessary to dispel the storm, by bringing some of the more moderate Whigs into administration, and dismissing a few of the most violent Tories²¹. Mr. Harley, speaker of the house of commons, reputed a Whig because he had been bred a dissenter, was now appointed secretary of state, in the room of the earl of Nottingham; and, at his recommendation, Mr. St. John, since better known by the title of

¹⁹ *Stuart Papers*.

²⁰ Burnet, book vii.

²¹ *Hanover Papers*, 1704.

lord Bolingbroke, was advanced to the lucrative post of secretary of war.

This expedient, however, would have been found insufficient to secure the ministry against the violence of the Whigs, had not the extraordinary success of the next campaign silenced all opposition. As the allies, in the two preceding campaigns, by securing the Maes and Spanish Guelderland, had provided a strong barrier for the United Provinces, the duke of Marlborough proposed to march into the heart of Germany, in order to protect the emperor, now almost besieged in his capital, by the Hungarian malcontents on one side, and by the French and Bavarians on the other. In pursuance of this scheme, but under colour of penetrating into France, he ordered the confederate forces to march towards Coblenz, where he joined them. Crossing the Rhine at that place, and successively the Maine and the Neckar, he was met by prince Eugene at Mondelsheim.

The result of the conference between these two great generals, was a junction of the allied army under Marlborough, with the Imperialists, commanded by the prince
July 2, of Baden. That junction being effected, Marl-
N.S. borough forced, though with the loss of four thousand men, the entrenchments of the elector of Bavaria, near Donawert, and obliged him to quit the field. In consequence of this victory, the allies gained possession of Donawert, and obtained a free passage over the Danube. But as they were incapable, for want of magazines, either of continuing long on the banks of that river, or penetrating into Bavaria, their situation became very precarious, and they eagerly wished to give battle; when the enemy, being reinforced with thirty thousand men under Tallard, resolved to afford them the desired opportunity. Before the engagement, the duke was also joined by prince Eugene, with twenty thousand men, from the Upper Rhine; and,

in order to free himself from the timid or treacherous counsels of the prince of Baden, he prevailed on him to besiege Ingolstadt. The opposing armies were now nearly equal, each consisting of about sixty thousand men. But the French generals, Tallard and Marsin, though men of experience and abilities, were much inferior to those of the allies; and the elector of Bavaria, though a brave prince, could not be considered as a commander.

The French and Bavarians were advantageously posted on a hill, having the Danube and the village of Blenheim on their right: on their left was a thick wood, from which ran a rivulet, along their front, into the Danube. This rivulet, in its course through the plain, formed an almost continued morass, the passage of which might have been rendered very difficult, if it had been properly guarded. Twenty-eight battalions, and twelve squadrons of dragoons, were thrown into the village of Blenheim: and eight battalions were placed in another village towards the centre, in order to fall, in conjunction with those at Blenheim, upon the rear of the enemy, when the latter should pass the rivulet. The line, which consisted chiefly of cavalry, was weakened by these detachments; and, by an unaccountable negligence, the allies were permitted not only to pass the brook, but to form without opposition²².

Marlborough, who commanded the left wing of the allies, having first passed the brook, ordered the ^{August 13,} two villages to be attacked by the infantry, while ^{N.S.} he himself led his cavalry against those of Tallard. The attack on the villages proved unsuccessful; the English and Hessians being repulsed, after three successive attempts. The French horse, however, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, were obliged to give ground. They retired behind the fire of ten battalions, which Tallard had ordered to advance to their relief. But these also

²² *Mém. du Marq. de Feuquieres.*—Kane's Campaigns.

were broken by the English foot. Marlborough charged home with his horse; and drove the French cavalry with such precipitation from the field, that most of those who escaped the sword were drowned in the Danube. The ten advanced battalions of the enemy's foot were, at the same time, charged on all sides, and routed. Tallard himself was taken prisoner, with many other officers of distinction.

Meanwhile prince Eugene, who commanded the right wing of the confederates, after having been thrice repulsed, had broken the French and Bavarians, under the elector and Marsin; and though they could scarcely be said to have been routed, they no sooner heard of Tallard's defeat, than they left the field, with every mark of hurry and disgrace. The foot and dragoons, in the village of Blenheim, the best troops of France, were now abandoned to their fate. After a vigorous, but ineffectual sally, they found themselves obliged to surrender at discretion.

Such, my dear Philip, was the famous battle of Blenheim, in which thirty thousand French and Bavarians were killed, wounded, or captured. The camp-equipage, baggage, artillery, and every trophy that can distinguish a complete victory, fell into the hands of the conquerors. These trophies, however, were not acquired without considerable loss of blood. The allies had about five thousand men killed, and seven thousand wounded²³.

The consequences of this brilliant victory were highly important. The emperor was relieved from his fears; the Hungarian malcontents were overawed; and the conquests and dominions of the elector of Bavaria fell, at once, into the hands of Leopold, who revenged severely, on the subjects of that prince, the excesses which had been committed on his own. An extent of sixty leagues of country was exposed to all the ravages of war. Broken, ruined, and dispersed, the forces of Louis left a free and

23 Feuquieres.—Burnet.—Voltaire.

uninterrupted march to the confederates from the Danube to the Rhine; and the wretched remains of that army, which at the beginning of the season had spread terror to the gates of Vienna, were obliged to take shelter within the frontiers of France. The victors crossed the Rhine: they entered Alsace; and the important fortresses of Landau and Traerbach were surrendered to them before the close of the year²⁴.

But the same good fortune, which attended the arms of the confederates in Germany, did not extend to every scene of operations. In Flanders, the war, being merely defensive, produced no memorable event. On the Portuguese side of Spain, the archduke, who had assumed the title of Charles III., was unable to make any progress. On the contrary, Philip, assisted by the duke of Berwick, carried the war into Portugal; took several places, and defeated the attempts of the allies for the invasion of Spain²⁵. In Italy, the campaign proved, upon the whole, favourable to the house of Bourbon. The castle of Susa, the city of Pignerol, Vercelli, Yvrea, and Sansano, were reduced by Vendome²⁶.

²⁴ Voltaire.—Boyer.—Burnet.

²⁵ Notwithstanding these services, the duke of Berwick was recalled. Of this matter, he gives the following curious account: "The duke of Gramont, the French minister at Madrid, had taken it into his head that he was to govern there as despotically as the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine had formerly done in France. I had no objection to this with respect to the civil department; but, in the military, I was resolved that he should not have the same sway; thinking it reasonable that I should be consulted in every thing, and even that my plans should be adopted, as I must be answerable for the success of the whole. From these contrary humours it followed, that Gramont took upon him to order every thing, without consulting or communicating with me; and I, on the other hand, steady to my principle, refused to execute any enterprise which I did not approve." The duke's recall was the consequence of this commendable pride.

When the marechal de Tessé, who succeeded to the chief command in Spain, arrived at Madrid, he naturally inquired of the queen if she had not reason to be satisfied with the duke's campaign. She said, that he was much esteemed, and had rendered great service to the kingdom. "Why then," answered Tessé, "have you had him recalled?"—"If I must tell you," replied the queen peevishly, "he is a great obstinate devil of an Englishman, who will always have his own way." *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, tome i.

²⁶ Henault, 1704.

The operations at sea, during this memorable year, were scarcely less important than those by land. The combined fleet of England and Holland, which carried the archduke to Lisbon, having failed in an attempt upon Barcelona, where a party was supposed to have been formed for the house of Austria, appeared before Gibraltar; and that fortress, hitherto deemed impregnable, was taken at the first assault. Astonished at the intrepidity of the English sailors, who ascended the mole sword in hand, the governor immediately surrendered the place; which was committed to the care of the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, for the queen of England²⁷.

Nor was the acquisition of this great key of the Mediterranean the only advantage resulting from the enterprise. Part of the Spanish army employed in Portugal being withdrawn, for the purpose of retaking Gibraltar, a stop was thus put to the progress of Philip, who might otherwise have advanced to the gates of Lisbon; and the French fleet (to the number of fifty-two ships of the line, under the count de Toulouse) coming to the aid of the besiegers, was defeated off Malaga, by the combined fleet, commanded by sir George Rooke and the Dutch admiral Calemberg. The force, on both sides, was nearly equal; and the battle was obstinate and bloody, though no ship was either sunk or taken. This was partly the consequence of the interposition of night, and partly of the shifting of the wind, which enabled the French to elude all the endeavours of the confederates for a renewal of the engagement²⁸. Louis affected, however, to claim the victory. But it was obvious to all Europe, that the combined fleet kept the sea; and that the French took refuge in their own ports, instead of affording any assistance to the Spaniards before Gibraltar.

27 Burnet, book vii.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iii.

28 *Id. ibid.*

These fortunate events, particularly the memorable victory obtained at Blenheim, which was justly ascribed to British valour, diffused a general joy over the nation. This joy communicated itself to the representatives of the people, who voted ample supplies for prosecuting the war, with the utmost readiness; and the whole business of parliament was not only conducted with harmony, but carried forward with zeal and expedition. Pleased with the humiliation of the house of Bourbon, the Whigs, instead of opposing the ministry, used every endeavour to engage the duke of Marlborough in their cause; and Godolphin, either from policy or principle, threw himself entirely into their hands.

The queen dissolved the parliament; and the Whigs, whose principles recommended them to the independent part of the kingdom, having the countenance of government, and the support of the moneyed interest, obtained a decided majority in the new house of commons. The elections went generally in their favour, notwithstanding the clamour raised by the Tories of the danger of the church, and the growth of Presbyterianism. Both houses now passed a vote, that the church was in a safe and flourishing condition, and that whoever advanced a contrary assertion was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom²⁹. They also, to the great disappointment of the Tories, already mortified by the foregoing vote, repealed two severe laws against the commerce and people of Scotland, in order to induce the parliament of that kingdom to settle the crown on the house of Hanover, as well as to listen to proposals for a treaty of union with England; measures highly necessary to the welfare of both kingdoms, and essential to the security of the Protestant succession.

While the English were taking these prudent steps,

France was not only depressed by external misfortunes, but distracted by internal commotions. Though the Huguenots had been in a great measure exterminated, or induced, from motives of fear or interest, to conform to the established religion, by the rewards that were offered to them, and the severe persecution which they had suffered, both before and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, yet many of them had taken refuge in the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the south of France, where, mingling with the rude natives, called Camisards, they enjoyed their religion in a state of barbarism. Like zealots of all sects, when ignorant and persecuted, they believed themselves to be the peculiar favourites of heaven, and laid claim to the highest gifts of inspiration. They had their prophets and prophetesses, who assumed absolute authority over them, and are said to have incited them to the most atrocious cruelties, both against the Catholics and the refractory part of their own sect³⁰.

Encouraged by these visionaries, by their increasing numbers, and by the promises of the confederates, the Camisards, on the commencement of the war, in 1701, began to mingle politics with their religion. They demanded "liberty of conscience, and an exemption from "taxes;" and took arms to support their pretensions. Several generals were sent against them, with various success, and among others the celebrated marechal Villars; who, after making them sensible of his power, entered into treaty with them, in 1704. But they, suspecting the sincerity of the court, broke off the negotiation, when it was

30 *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*.—"I have heard marechal Villars relate," says Voltaire, "that, when he asked Cavalier, the most considerable of their "chiefs, how, at his years, being little above twenty, he could acquire so much authority over a headstrong undisciplined rabble? the bold leader replied, that, "whenever they refused to obey, his prophetess (known among them by the name "of the *Great Mary*) was instantly seized with a fit of inspiration, and condemned "the refractory to the punishment of death, without any form of trial." *Siècle*, chap. xxxii.

almost finished; and Villars being recalled, to enter on a more important scene of action, the duke of Berwick was dispatched against them, on his return from Spain. Severity being now as necessary as it was formerly impolitic, the duke exercised it without reserve, and soon reduced the Camisards to obedience³¹.

Louis, although destitute of that superior magnanimity which is never vainly elate, and which can calmly look down on the highest success, possessed in an eminent degree that Christian fortitude which enables the soul to bear misfortunes with composure and resignation. Though accustomed to victory, he received the intelligence of the ruin of his army at Blenheim without any marks of confusion, and took the most vigorous steps for repairing his loss, as well as for checking the progress of the victorious enemy. At the end of the campaign, however, he found that he had been deprived of a considerable part of his former conquests. But France was still entire, and his power in Flanders was not very seriously impaired; and, as he understood that the duke of Marlborough intended, in the next campaign, to carry the war by the Moselle into the heart of his dominions, he assembled on that side an army of seventy thousand men, under the command of Villars. The English general, having crossed the Moselle and the Saar, arrived at Sirck; but not being joined by the prince of Baden, as he expected, he was obliged to retreat:

31 For this severity, the duke makes the following manly apology: "Assisted by the understanding and advice of M. de Basville, one of the most sensible men in France, I made it my business to prevent every thing that might tend to excite commotions; and declared, that I came neither as a persecutor nor a missionary, but with a resolution to do equal justice to every one; to protect all who should behave themselves as faithful subjects of the king, and to punish with the utmost rigour those who should dare to oppose his authority.—I know," adds he, "that attempts have been made, in many countries, to blacken our proceedings against these people; but I can protest, as a man of honour, that the Camisards were guilty of every species of outrage and criminality. To rebellion, sacrilege, murder, theft, and licentiousness, they joined the most atrocious and unprecedented cruelties; so far even as to have priests broiled, to rip out the bowels of pregnant women, and to roast their children!" *Mém.* vol. i.

and so masterly was the conduct of Villars, that the duke was not able to effect any enterprise of consequence during the campaign³².

Though the emperor Leopold, whose death made no change in the political system of the confederates, was succeeded on the imperial throne by his son Joseph, a prince of greater vigour and abilities, the sluggishness of the Germanic body, and the obstinacy of the prince of Baden, prevented the allied army from triumphing on the side of Flanders. In Italy the French still maintained their superiority. The duke de Vendome took Villa Franca and Verua: he repulsed the Imperialists, who, under prince Eugene, attempted to force the passage of the Adda, at the bridge of Cassano; and the duke of Savoy, no longer able to keep the field, was obliged to shut himself up in Turin, with little prospect of relief³³.

The confederates were more fortunate in Spain. The marechal de Tessé, after losing a great number of men, was forced to raise the siege of Gibraltar; and he had also the mortification, a few days before he abandoned the enterprise, to behold a French fleet that came to his assistance, under the famous Pointis, defeated, and chiefly taken or destroyed, by an English squadron, commanded by sir John Leake. Encouraged by these favourable events, the confederates entered the enemy's country, on the frontiers of Beira and Alentejo, and reduced some of the towns of Estremadura. In other quarters they were still more successful. An English fleet, conducted by sir Cloudesly Shovel, carrying five thousand soldiers, under the celebrated earl of Peterborough, being joined at Lisbon by sir John Leake and the Dutch admiral Allemond, and reinforced with some troops from the confederate army in Portugal, took the archduke on board, and sailed for the coast of Catalonia, where he was supposed to have many

friends. Intimidated at the appearance of this armament, the people in general declared for the house of Austria. The fortresses of Lerida and Tortosa were yielded without a blow: Barcelona, though furnished with a garrison of five thousand men, under the duke de Popoli, was obliged to surrender; and almost the whole kingdom of Valencia, as well as the province of Catalonia, submitted to Charles III.³⁴

The particulars of the siege of Barcelona, as related by Voltaire, are so honourable to this country, that they ought not to be omitted by an English historian. The earl of Peterborough, says he, a man in every respect resembling the imaginary heroes that the Spaniards have represented in their romances, proposed to the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt to force, sword in hand, the entrenchments that covered fort Montjuy and the town. The enterprise was accordingly executed with success; but with the loss of the brave prince of Hesse, who was killed in the attack. The garrison, however, still held out; when a bomb happening to enter the powder-magazine, it blew up with a terrible explosion, and the fort instantly surrendered. The town soon after offered to capitulate; and the duke de Popoli, the governor, came to the gate, in order to adjust the articles with Peterborough. But before they were signed, tumultuous shouts were heard. "You betray us!" exclaimed Popoli. "Whilst we, with honour and sincerity, are here treating with you, your troops have entered the town by the ramparts, and are murdering, plundering, and committing every species of violence." "You mistake," replied the earl:—"Those must be the troops of the prince of Darmstadt. There is only one expedient left to save your town; allow me freely to enter it with my Englishmen. I will soon make all quiet, and come back to conclude the capitulation." These words he uttered with an air of dignity and truth,

34 Burnet, book vii.—*Mém. de Noailles*, tome ii.

which, joined to a sense of present danger, induced the governor to comply. Attended by some of his officers, he hastened into the streets, where the licentious soldiery, but more especially the Germans and Catalans, were pillaging the houses of the principal inhabitants. He drove them from their prey: he obliged them to give up even the booty they had seized; and he happily rescued from their hands the duchess de Popoli, when on the point of being dishonoured, and restored her to her husband³⁵. In a word, after having quelled every appearance of disorder in the town, he returned to the gate, and finished the capitulation with the governor, while the Spaniards were filled with astonishment at the honour and generosity of a people, whom they had been accustomed to consider only as merciless heretics.

These acquisitions, and splendid achievements in Spain, so flattering to the pride of the English nation, made the people, and even the parliament, eager to prosecute the war, notwithstanding the small success in other quarters. Nor was the house of Bourbon less disposed to vigorous measures. The check given to the confederates on the Moselle, joined to the rapid progress of the French arms in Italy, having elated anew the spirit of Louis, he rashly resolved, during the ensuing campaign, to act offensively in the Low-Countries; at the same time that he should strip the duke of Savoy of all his territories, support his grandson in Spain, and maintain an army in Germany. And to all these attempts he was perhaps equal, had the abilities of his generals been adequate to the number and valour of his troops. His hopes with regard to the dominions of Victor Amadeus, at least, were by no means presumptuous. The duchy of Savoy had already
 A. D. 1706. been subdued by his arms: the duke of Berwick had taken Nice: and Vendome, having defeated the Im-

³⁵ *Siècle*, chap. xix.—Burnet mentions this tumult, but in a manner somewhat different. He was no friend to the earl of Peterborough.

perialists at Calcinato, in the spring, ordered Turin to be invested. On the side of Germany, Villars justified the confidence of his master, by driving the prince of Baden before him; and had not his army been weakened by detachments, in order to supply the losses occasioned by the misconduct of other commanders, he might have penetrated into the heart of the empire. The ardour of Villeroy, in Flanders, led the way to the future misfortunes of Louis³⁶.

The duke of Marlborough, having made every preparation for a spirited campaign, joined the united army of England and Holland in May; and the subsidiary Danes soon after arrived. Villeroy, with a superior force, had advanced to Tirlemont; and, ambitious of entering the lists with Marlborough, he precipitately pushed forward to Ramillies. On gaining the heights, where rises the Little Geete, he perceived the allies in full march toward him, and immediately formed his army in order of battle. The Geete, and an impassable morass running along its banks, covered his left wing, and prevented it alike from being attacked and from charging the enemy: the village of Ramillies, in a plain near the source of the Geete, was situated before his centre, which consisted entirely of infantry: Tavieres, on the Mehaigne, covered his right wing; and a level space, between Tavieres and Ramillies, was filled with eighty squadrons of horse.

Such was the disposition of the French forces in the battle of Ramillies, and such the ground on which it was fought. Marlborough, perceiving the defects of that disposition, ordered a feigned attack to be made on the left wing of the enemy; and although this was impracticable, it served to confuse Villeroy, and to prevent him from bringing the troops of that wing to support his centre, on which the English general fell with all the foot

³⁶ Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tome x.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xix.—Burnet, book vii.

that composed his own. The Dutch infantry, under Auverquerque, attacked at the same time the enemy's right wing. But the French still making a gallant resistance, Marlborough ordered all his cavalry to advance to the charge; and the whole centre of the enemy was quickly broken and routed. The right wing also gave way before the Dutch; and a complete victory remained to the allies. Of the French, about seven thousand were killed, and six thousand became prisoners; while about three thousand five hundred of the confederates lost their lives or were wounded³⁷.

The total conquest of Brabant, and of almost all Spanish Flanders, was the immediate consequence of this victory. Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Oudenarde, and other places, surrendered at discretion. Ostend, famous for its long siege in the preceding century, put the first stop to the progress of the confederates. It was forced, however, to capitulate, after a siege of ten days. Even Menin, fortified according to the most perfect rules of art, and defended by a garrison of six thousand men, surrendered in three weeks; and the operations of the campaign were concluded with the taking of Aeth and Dendermonde, the French not daring to attempt their relief³⁸.

The consequences of the battle of Ramillies were not confined to the Netherlands: they even extended to Italy, where Louis hoped that the reduction of Turin would afford some consolation for his losses in other quarters. The siege of this large and important city was committed to the duke de Feuillade, son-in-law to Chamillard, the minister of finance, who furnished him with every thing that could contribute to render such an undertaking successful; with one hundred and forty pieces of battering cannon; one hundred and ten thousand bullets; one hun-

37 *Mém. du Marq. de Feuquieres*.—Burnet, book vii.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xix.

38 Voltaire, chap. xix.

dred and six thousand cartouches of one sort, and three hundred thousand of another; twenty-one thousand bombs; twenty-seven thousand seven hundred grenades; fifteen thousand bags of earth; thirty thousand instruments for pioneering, and one million two hundred thousand pounds of powder; beside a vast quantity of lead, iron, tin, ropes, sulphur, saltpetre, and every thing requisite for miners³⁹. The preparations, in a word, were such as startle the imagination; and Feuillade, being a man of courage and activity, conducted the operations with vigour, but without strictly regarding the rules of art. He began the attack on the strongest side, and neglected to surround the town. The inhabitants of the country, therefore, had opportunities of sending supplies, both of men and provisions, to the garrison; and all the ardour which he showed, in repeated assaults, served only to diminish the number of the besiegers. The place, however, must at length have been taken, notwithstanding the errors of Feuillade, but for one of those great events which critically influence the fate of nations.

Prince Eugene was so situated, that it was thought he could not advance to succour Turin. He was on the east side of the Adige; and as that river on the west side was fortified with a long chain of entrenchments, the passage seemed impracticable. The besiegers consisted of forty-six squadrons and a hundred battalions. Vendome, in order to favour their operations, remained above five weeks on the banks of the Adige. He had with him seventy battalions and sixty squadrons; and, with this force, he did not doubt that he should be able to obstruct the approach of Eugene.

But unfortunately for the affairs of the house of Bourbon in Italy, Vendome was recalled, that he might collect the broken remains of Villeroy's army in Flanders, and

³⁹ Voltaire, chap. xix.

endeavour to stem the tide of ill success in that quarter. Before his departure, however, he had found it impossible to prevent prince Eugene from passing the Adige, and even the Po. He was succeeded in the chief command by the duke of Orléans (nephew to Louis), who was assisted by the marechal de Marsin and other experienced officers. As the prince had passed the Po, in spite of Vendome, he crossed the Tanaro, in sight of the duke of Orléans. He took Carpi, Correggio, and Reggio; and having stolen a march upon the French, he was joined, near Asti, by the duke of Savoy, who, no longer confining himself within his capital, had retired into the valley of Lucerne, among his Protestant subjects the Vaudois, and occasionally annoyed the besiegers with a small body of cavalry⁴⁰.

Nothing now remained for the duke of Orléans but to join Feuillade at the camp before Turin. Prince Eugene followed him thither, with all expedition, determined to raise the siege. It therefore became necessary for the French now to resolve, whether they should wait for the prince in their lines, or march out and meet him in the field. A council of war was called, consisting of Marsin, Feuillade, Albergotti, St. Fremont, and other general officers. "If we remain in our lines," said the duke of Orléans, "we shall certainly be defeated. They are so extensive, that our numbers, though great, are not sufficient to defend them. The Doria, which runs through our camp, will prevent our troops from speedily succouring each other. And, in waiting for an attack, the French lose one of their greatest advantages; that vehemence, and those first movements of ardour, which so often determine the events of war. It is therefore my opinion, that we ought to march against the enemy." The officers with one voice replied, "Let us march!" but Marsin produced an order

⁴⁰ Voltaire, *ubi sup.*—Burnet, book vii.

signed by the king, commanding them not to offer, but to wait for battle⁴¹.

That order, with which the duke of Orléans was obliged to comply, hurt his pride, and confused the measures of the French generals; who, being of different opinions, disputed long, without coming to any fixed determination how to act. Meanwhile the prince, having made ^{Sept. 7,} his dispositions, assaulted their entrenchments; and, ^{N. S.} after a fierce struggle of two hours, entered their camp, drove them from all their posts, and took their cannon, baggage, ammunition, and military chest. The duke of Orléans was slightly wounded, and the marechal de Marsin mortally. The whole French army was routed and dispersed; and, although the number of the killed did not exceed three thousand, such was the terror of the fugitives, that they retreated immediately toward Pignerol, and hastened into Dauphiné: so that the house of Bourbon lost, at one blow, the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principality of Piedmont, and eventually the kingdom of Naples⁴².

The confederates, notwithstanding some unfavourable circumstances, were no less successful in Spain. The archduke Charles having established himself in that kingdom, during the winter, by the assistance of the English troops under the earl of Peterborough, Philip and the marechal de Tessé advanced against him in the spring, with an army of twenty thousand men; and obliged him to take shelter in Barcelona, which they besieged, while the count de Toulouse, with a French fleet, blocked it up by sea. Fort Montjuy was taken; and the French and Spaniards were preparing for the assault of the town, a practicable breach being already made, when sir John Leake with a

⁴¹ It was this timidity of the court of Versailles which gave prince Eugene reason to affirm, in a complimentary letter to the duke of Marlborough, that he "felt the good effects of the battle of Ramillies, even in Italy." Burnet, book vii.

⁴² Burnet.—Voltaire.—Henault.

superior fleet, appearing on the coast, the count de Toulouse judged it prudent to retire in the night. A reinforcement was thrown into the place; and Philip and the marechal raised the siege with the utmost precipitation and disorder, leaving behind them their cannon, their provisions, and their implements of war, with all their sick and wounded men. This disorder was partly occasioned by an almost total eclipse of the sun, which happened as they were marching off, and completed the confusion of the superstitious Spaniards⁴³.

While Philip was returning in disgrace to his capital, with his broken and ruined army, the English and Portuguese, having entered Estremadura with forty thousand men, under the command of the earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas, made themselves masters of Alcantara, Ciudad-Rodrigo, Salamanca, and the port of Espinar. And as the duke of Berwick, who had again been appointed to the chief command in Spain, was too weak to obstruct their progress, they penetrated without resistance to Madrid. Philip was obliged to remove, with his court, to Burgos: and the English and Portuguese, on the same day that they entered his capital in triumph, received intelligence, that the count de Santa Cruz had delivered Carthagená and the galleys into their hands.

The archduke was proclaimed king of Spain; and had he advanced immediately to the seat of power, the Spanish crown might have been transferred for ever from the house of Bourbon. But he loitered unaccountably in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, while the English and Portuguese indulged in sloth and debauchery at Madrid. In the mean time, Philip having collected a superior army, Galway and las Minas were compelled to quit that city. The duke of Berwick hung close upon their rear, and gained some advantages over them; yet they having

⁴³ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome ii.—Barnet, book vii.—*Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

effected a junction with the earl of Peterborough and the archduke, passed safely into the kingdom of Valencia, and disposed their quarters in such a manner as to cover the provinces of Arragon and Catalonia, and preserve, at the same time, a free entrance into Castile. Carthagena, however, was retaken before the close of the campaign. But that loss was more than balanced by the acquisition of the islands of Majorca and Iviça, which the English fleet, under sir John Leake, subjected to the dominion of Charles III.⁴⁴

During these important transactions in the South and West of Europe, the affairs of the North and East had undergone a considerable change. The progress of that revolution it must now be our business to trace; as it began, about this time, to threaten the confederates by its consequences.

Charles XII. of Sweden, agreeably to that resolution which he had formed of dethroning the king of Poland, by means of the discontents of his own subjects, entered into a secret correspondence with Radziewiski, the cardinal-primate, who was active in rousing the jealousy of the nobles; so that Augustus found, on calling a diet, which broke up in a tumultuous manner, that the mal-contented composed the majority of the assembly. The leading members of the senate were not more loyally disposed. Willing, therefore, to humble himself before the Swedish monarch, rather than submit to the insolent demands of his factious subjects, Augustus attempted secretly to treat with that prince. But Charles, suspecting his design, and still burning with revenge, obstinately refused to see the beautiful and accomplished countess of Koningsmark, who was intrusted with the negotiation, while he received with the highest marks of respect an embassy from the senate. He assured the deputies, that he took arms

⁴⁴ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome ii.—Burnet, book vii.—*Mem of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

against Augustus and the Saxons, not against the Poles, whom he should ever esteem as his friends and allies. But instead of agreeing to an immediate conference, as they proposed, he told them bluntly, that he would confer with them at Warsaw⁴⁵.

Charles accordingly marched toward that capital, which opened its gates to him on the first summons. The Polish nobles had chiefly retired to their country seats, and the king to Cracow. While Augustus was there assembling his forces, the cardinal-primate, whose treachery was yet undiscovered, appeared among the few persons of distinction who still adhered to their sovereign, and intimated to him, that the king of Sweden was believed to be inclined to listen to terms of accommodation; and he humbly begged leave to wait on the formidable warrior for that purpose. His insidious offer was accepted: and he and count Leczinski had an audience of Charles in the neighbourhood of Warsaw. They found the Swedish monarch clad in a coat of coarse blue cloth, with brass buttons, large jack-boots, and buck-skin gloves that reached to his elbows. After they had talked together standing, for a quarter of an hour, Charles put an end to the conference, by saying aloud, "I will not grant peace to the Poles, before they have elected a new king⁴⁶!" The primate, who expected such a declaration, ordered it to be notified to all the palatines; assuring them, that it gave him great concern, but representing, at the same time, the absolute necessity of complying with the request of the conquering Swede.

Augustus, on receiving this intelligence, saw that he must either relinquish his crown, or resolve to preserve it by force of arms: and he took the most vigorous measures for appealing to the decision of the sword. Having strengthened his Saxon guards, on which he placed his chief dependence, with the succours of the nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, who still remained faithful to him,

⁴⁵ Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII.* liv. ii.

⁴⁶ Id. *ibid.*

and also with that body of Polish troops which bore the name of the *Army of the Crown*, he marched in quest of the king of Sweden. Nor was he long in meeting with his antagonist, that prince having already taken the field with the same hostile views. The contending kings met (on the 20th of July, 1702, N. S.) in a spacious plain near Clissaw, between Warsaw and Cracow. Augustus led about twenty-four thousand men; Charles had scarcely one half of that number, yet he advanced to the charge with intrepidity; and although the king of Poland performed every thing that could be expected from a gallant prince fighting for his crown, he was defeated with great slaughter. Thrice did he rally his troops in person, and attempt to restore the battle, but in vain: all his efforts were fruitless. The Saxons only could be said to fight for him. The Poles, who formed his right wing, gave ground at the beginning of the engagement. Some fled through fear, others from disaffection. The valour and good fortune of Charles prevailed. He gained a complete victory, with all the honours that could attend it: he took possession of the enemy's camp; and the baggage, the cannon, and even the military chest of Augustus, fell into his hands⁴⁷.

The king of Sweden halted not a moment on the field of battle. He directed his march instantly to Cracow, which surrendered without firing a gun. Determined still to pursue Augustus, in order to prevent his assembling a new army, Charles quickly left that city: but his thigh-bone being broken soon after, in consequence of the fall of his horse, he was confined to his bed for six weeks. During this interval of repose, the king of Poland assembled a diet at Lublin; where, by his affability, engaging manner, and fine accomplishments, he in a great measure recovered the affections of his subjects. All the palatines who were present swore that they would continue faithful

⁴⁷ Parthenay, *Hist. de Pologne*.—Voltaire, *Hist. de Charles XII*.

to their sovereign. They agreed to maintain an army of fifty thousand men for his defence; and they resolved, that forty days should be allowed the king of Sweden finally to determine, whether he was disposed to peace or war.

As soon as Charles was able to quit his confinement, he overturned all the resolutions of the diet at Lublin, by a similar assembly at Warsaw. Meanwhile, having received a strong reinforcement from Pomerania, he marched against the remains of the army which he had defeated at Clissaw, and which had been recruited during his constrained inaction. He came up with the enemy on the first of May, 1703, at Pultausk. General Stenau commanded the Saxons, who amounted to ten thousand men. The Swedes consisted only of an equal number; yet so great was the terror inspired by the arms of Charles, that one half of the enemy fled at his approach, and the rest were soon routed and dispersed. Augustus himself retired to Thorn, an ancient city on the Vistula, in Polish Prussia. Charles followed him; first blockaded, then besieged the place, and compelled the garrison to surrender in the autumn; but the king of Poland had found means, before it was regularly invested, to escape into Saxony.

The diet at Warsaw, through the intrigues of the cardinal primate, now declared, "that Augustus, elector of Saxony, was incapable of wearing the crown of Poland;" and all the members, with one voice, pronounced the throne to be vacant, on the 14th of February, 1704. It was the intention of the king of Sweden, and the wish of the diet, to raise to the throne James, eldest son of the celebrated Sobieski; but that prince being taken prisoner with his brother Constantine, while hunting in the neighbourhood of Breslaw in Silesia, by a party of Saxon dragoons, the crown of Poland was offered to a younger brother, named Alexander, who rejected it with a generosity perhaps unexampled in history. Nothing, he said, should ever induce him to take advantage

of the misfortune of his elder brothers; and he entreated Charles to employ his victorious arms in restoring liberty to the unhappy captives⁴⁸.

This refusal, and the misfortune which led to it, having disconcerted the measures of the Swedish monarch, his minister, count Piper, who was as great a politician as his master was a warrior, advised Charles to take the crown of Poland to himself. He represented how easy it would be to accomplish such a scheme, with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, which was already subdued:—and he tempted him with the title of “*Defender of the Evangelical Religion*,” an appellation which flattered the prejudices of the northern conqueror. What Gustavus Vasa had effected in Sweden, might be accomplished, the count affirmed, with the greatest facility in Poland; the establishment of the Lutheran religion, and the enfranchisement of the people, whom the nobles and clergy held in the most abject slavery. Charles acquiesced in the prudent proposal for a moment; but blinded by the illusions of romantic glory, he afterward told his minister, that he had more pleasure in giving away than in conquering kingdoms! He accordingly recommended, to the choice of the diet, Stanislaus Leczinski, palatine of Posnanian, who was immediately raised to the throne⁴⁹.

While Charles was thus imposing a king on the vanquished Poles, and the Danish monarch durst not disturb his operations; while the new king of Prussia courted his friendship, and his antagonist Augustus was forced to take refuge in his electoral dominions—the czar Peter was growing every day more formidable. Though he had given the king of Poland little immediate assistance, he had made a powerful diversion in Ingria; and had not only become a good soldier himself, but had instructed his subjects in the art of war. He had able engineers, well-served artillery, and experienced officers; discipline was established among

48 Parthenay.—Voltaire.

49 Voltaire, *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. iii.

his troops; and he had acquired the great secret of subsisting his armies. In consequence of these improvements, he took Narva by assault, on the 21st of August, 1704, after a regular siege, during which he had prevented it from receiving any succours, either by sea or land. Nor was this his only glory. The Russians were no sooner masters of the city, than they began to pillage it, and abandoned themselves to the most enormous barbarities. The czar flew from place to place, to stop the plunder and carnage; and having killed two soldiers, who refused to obey his orders, he entered the town-house, and laying his sword, yet reeking with gore, upon the table, said to the magistrates, "This weapon is not stained with the blood of your fellow-citizens, but with that of my own people, which I have shed to save your lives⁵⁰."

Had Peter always paid the same attention to the rights of humanity, his character would have stood fairer in the annals of history; and for his honour it must be recorded, that, while he was thus saving one city from destruction, he was employed in erecting another, at no very great distance from Narva, in the heart of his new conquests, namely, Petersburg, which he afterward made the place of his residence, and the centre of his trade. That city is situated on the northern borders of Ingria, in a marshy island, around which the Neva divides itself into several branches, before it falls into the Gulf of Finland.

This uncultivated island, which, during the short summer in those regions, was only a heap of mud, and in winter a frozen pool, into which there was no entrance on the land side but through pathless forests and deep morasses, and which had been the haunt of wolves and bears, was filled, in 1703, with three hundred thousand men whom the czar had assembled from other parts of his dominions. Even the peasants of Astracan, and those who dwelt on the

frontiers of China, were transported to Petersburg; and the czar was obliged to clear forests, make roads, drain marshes, and raise mounds, before he could lay the foundations of his future capital. The whole was a violence upon nature. Peter was determined to people a country, that did not seem intended for the habitation of men; and neither the inundation that demolished his works, the sterility of the soil, the ignorance of the workmen, nor even the mortality which is said to have carried off one hundred thousand men in the beginning of the undertaking, could divert him from his purpose. By a proper distribution of favours, he drew many strangers to the new city: bestowing lands upon some, houses upon others, and encouraging, by liberal rewards, artists of every description. Above all, he rendered it proof against the utmost efforts of his enemies; so that the Swedish generals, who gained frequent advantages over his troops, were never able to injure this infant settlement. Petersburg remained in perfect security amidst the destructive war by which it was surrounded⁵¹.

While the czar was employed in erecting a new capital, and creating, as it were, a new people, he still held out a helping hand to the fugitive Augustus, who had again found his way into Poland, had retaken Warsaw, and been obliged a second time to abandon it. Peter invited him to Grodno, to concert measures for retrieving his affairs. To that town Augustus repaired in November, 1705; and being no longer afraid of exasperating the Poles, by the introduction of foreigners into their country, as they had already done their worst against him, it was resolved that sixty thousand Russians should attack the Swedes in their late conquests. This great force soon entered Poland; and, dividing into several bodies, fiercely ravaged the lands of all the palatines who had declared for Stanislaus. An army of Cossacks also entered the Polish territories, and

51 Voltaire, *Hist. de Russie*.

spread desolation on every side, with all the fury of barbarians. And general Schulemburg, who had distinguished himself by the passage of the Oder, in sight of the king of Sweden, and by a retreat esteemed equal to a victory, even by Charles himself, was advancing with an army of Saxons.

If success had depended upon numbers, the Swedish monarch must now have been crushed. But his usual good fortune, the effect of his active and enterprising spirit, still attended him. The Russian armies were attacked and defeated so fast, that the last was routed before it had heard of the disaster of the first. Nothing could stop the progress of the conquering Swedes, or equal their celerity. If a river interposed, they swam across it; and Charles, at the head of his cavalry, marched thirty leagues in twenty-four hours⁵². Struck with terror at such rapid movements, which to them appeared altogether miraculous, and reduced to a small number by their various defeats, the Russians, retired beyond the Nieper, leaving Augustus to his fate⁵³.

In the mean time Schulemburg, having repassed the Oder, offered battle to Renschild, who was considered as the best general in the service of Charles, and was called the Parmenio of the Alexander of the North. These two great commanders met on the 12th of February, 1706, at Frauenstadt. Renschild had only thirteen battalions, and twenty-two squadrons, making in all about ten thousand men: Schulemburg had double that number; yet was he defeated with great slaughter. Six thousand Russians and Saxons were killed on the spot; seven thousand were made prisoners; and all their artillery, baggage, ammunition, and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. Renschild tarnished the lustre of his success by the deliberate slaugh-

52 On this occasion every soldier had a horse by his side to mount, when the steed which already carried him was too weary to proceed with the requisite dispatch.

53 Voltaire, *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. iii.

ter of one thousand Russians, long after all resistance had ceased⁵⁴.

With a view of terminating the troubles of Poland, where, by reason of its desolate state, his army could no longer subsist, Charles now proposed to carry the war into the hereditary dominions of Augustus. He accordingly directed his march towards Silesia; passed the Oder; entered Saxony, with twenty-four thousand men; and having laid the whole country under contribution, pitched his camp at Alt-Ranstadt, near the plain of Lutzen, rendered famous by the memorable victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. Unable to contend with so powerful an adversary, already in the heart of his dominions, Augustus was under the necessity of suing for peace. He obtained it, but on the most humiliating terms; being constrained to renounce for ever all pretensions to the crown of Poland, and to acknowledge Stanislaus as lawful sovereign of that kingdom. When his plenipotentiaries endeavoured to procure some mitigation of the rigour of these conditions, they were constantly answered by count Piper, "Such is the will of my master; and he never alters his resolution⁵⁵!"

Before Augustus ratified this treaty, his troops and those of the czar obtained a victory over the forces of Charles at Kalish, notwithstanding all the exertions of general Meyerfeld, who could not submit without extreme reluctance to the shame of a defeat, though it was certainly no great disgrace for ten thousand men, of whom not one half were Swedes, to resign the honours of the field to thirty-five thousand Russians, Poles, and Saxons. The domineering Charles would not suffer Augustus to derive any benefit from this success, but insisted on his complete and final assent to the disadvantageous terms which had been proposed for his acceptance.

⁵⁴ *Hist. du Nord*, tome ii.—Voltaire, ubi sup.

⁵⁵ Voltaire, liv. iii.

The march of the king of Sweden into Germany, his frequent victories, and the arbitrary manner in which he had deposed Augustus, filled all Europe with hopes of his friendship, or apprehensions from his power. France courted his alliance with an ardour proportioned to the distressed state of her affairs. Offended at his gross violation of the privileges of the Germanic body, the diet at Ratisbon showed a disposition to declare him an enemy of the empire; but the emperor Joseph, dreading the effects of such a measure, employed all his influence to oppose it, at the same time that he endeavoured to soften any resentment which it might excite in the breast of the northern conqueror, by flattering his pride. Charles was pleased with these attentions, without being swayed by them. Wholly occupied with the great project of humbling his other antagonist, the czar Peter, and even of reducing him to the same abject condition into which he had already brought Augustus, he disregarded all the solicitations of the French court, and seemed to favour the views of the emperor, without having any attachment to his interest.

Louis, thus disappointed in his hopes of engaging the king of Sweden in his cause, and broken in spirit by misfortunes, began seriously to think of putting an end to a war, which had brought accumulated disgrace upon his arms, and the deepest distress upon his subjects. Having privately made some ineffectual applications to the ministers of Holland, he resolved publicly to manifest his earnest desire of peace; and therefore ordered the elector of Bavaria to write letters to the duke of Marlborough and the Dutch field-deputies, proposing a general congress. As a proof of his sincerity, he mentioned at once the sacrifices which he was willing to make. He offered all the Spanish dominions in Italy to the archduke Charles; to the states-general, a barrier in the Netherlands; and, to the duke of Savoy, a compensation for the injuries

which he had sustained from the war. In return for such liberal concessions, he demanded, that the electorate of Bavaria should be restored to its native prince, and that Philip should be allowed to possess Spain and her American dominions⁵⁶; or, in the lofty language of the proud Castilians, Spain and the Indies⁵⁷.

The confederates, by concluding a peace on these terms, and others which they might have dictated, particularly for the perpetual disjunction of the crowns of France and Spain, would have obtained the chief objects of the grand alliance; yet was the offer, though surely a sufficient foundation for entering upon a negotiation, wantonly rejected, and Europe was destined to remain, for many years longer, a scene of carnage, confusion, and distress, in order to gratify the passions of a few ambitious and selfish men. The duke of Marlborough was fond of the emoluments as well as the glory of war: prince Eugene, beside being under the influence of similar motives, was actuated by an implacable resentment against France; and the pensionary Heinsius, who led the councils of the Dutch republic, yielded to his own interest, while he acted in subserviency to those two generals. These were the three great springs that now directed the grand alliance; and the motion communicated by their joint impulse, was accelerated by the torrent of victory. The views of the allies extended with their success. Having humbled France, they aspired at the conquest of Spain. It was accordingly resolved, that no peace should be made with the house of Bourbon, while a prince of that family continued to fill the Spanish throne⁵⁸.

56. Burnet, book vii.

57 This mode of speaking seems to have been introduced, when the Spaniards were in possession of the Portuguese settlements in India, where all other Europeans were long considered as intruders; and when Spain asserted an exclusive right to the whole American continent, as well as to the neighbouring islands, to which she gave the name of the *West Indies*. Hence too, by a still more ridiculous vanity, the Spanish monarchs still assume the title of "King of the East and West Indies."

58 "I do not remember," says lord Bolingbroke, "any *parliamentary declaration for continuing the war till Philip V. should be dethroned*, before the

Thus, my dear Philip, were the objects of this confederacy in a great measure changed; and, in order to form a true judgement of the whole, you must consider very attentively the new scheme, and compare it with the original plan of the grand alliance, in reference to the general interests of Europe, and the particular interests of your own country. You will then, I think, be of opinion, that the war was wise and just before this change, because necessary to maintain that equality among the powers of Europe on which their peace and common prosperity depend; but that it was unwise and unjust, after this change, because unnecessary to such end, and directed to other and contrary ends. After this change, it became a war of passion, of ambition, of avarice, and of private interest, to which the general interests of Europe were sacrificed so entirely, that, if the terms insisted on by the confederates had been granted, such a new system of

“year 1706; and then such a declaration was judged necessary to second the resolution of our ministers and our allies, in departing from the principles of the grand alliance, and in proposing not only the *reduction* of the French, but the *conquest* of the Spanish monarchy, as the object of the war.” (*Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*). And, little faith as is placed in the historical testimony of Bolingbroke, he seems here to have truth on his side, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by lord Walpole, who endeavours to prove, that although the king of England, and the states-general of the United Provinces, had acknowledged Philip V. as lawful king of Spain, in virtue of the will of his predecessor Charles II., the *primary object* of the grand alliance was to *deprive him of the throne of that kingdom*, and place upon it a prince of the house of Austria. (*Answer to the Latter Part of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study of History*). That such was the aim of the imperial family is very certain; but England and Holland (see Let. XX.) refused to engage for so much. In afterward going that length, they consequently altered or enlarged their plan. What is farther necessary to be observed on this intricate subject, may be found in the reflections introductory to the negotiations at Utrecht (Let. XXIII). Though a well-wisher to the cause of the confederates, I scorn to conceal their errors or inconsistencies. It was not originally stipulated, in any article of the grand alliance, that a prince of the house of Bourbon should be utterly precluded from sitting on the throne of Spain, or from possessing, together with that kingdom, the Spanish dominions in America. But, on the accession of the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal to the grand alliance, the confederates began to extend their views; and, in consequence of the successes of the war, from 1703 to 1706, that resolution was formed which gave rise to these remarks.

power would have been created, as must have exposed the balance of that power to deviations, not inferior to those which the war was originally intended to prevent⁵⁹.

Whilst we reprobate this ambitious scheme, considered in a general view, we find particular occasion to lament the fate of Great-Britain in the midst of triumphs that have been so greatly extolled. Victories that bring honour to the arms, may bring shame to the councils of a nation. To win a battle, to take a town, is the glory of a commander, and of an army. Of this glory we had a very large share. But the wisdom of a nation is to proportion the ends she proposes to her interest and her strength. Great-Britain neither expected nor desired any thing beyond what she might have obtained, by adhering to the first principles of the grand alliance. But she was hurried into those of the new plan by the causes already stated, by the prejudices and the rashness of party, by the influence which the successes of the confederate arms gave to our ministers Godolphin and Marlborough, and by the popularity, if I may so speak, which they gave to the war itself. The people were unwilling to put an end to a contest that afforded so many occasions of public rejoicing, and so wide a range for national pride.

The English ministry, however, though thus A. D. 1707.
lavish of the blood and treasure of the nation, in support of unnecessary foreign wars, were by no means negligent of its internal tranquillity and happiness. That UNION of England and Scotland under one legislature, which had, as we have seen, been often attempted in vain, was now established by a parliamentary act, after March 6.
warm debates in each kingdom; and, in conse-

⁵⁹ The emperor Joseph, who died a few years after, was then without male issue. And the union of the kingdoms of Spain and Hungary, with the German and Italian dominions of the house of Austria, in the person of the archduke Charles, supported by the wealth of the American mines, would have been no less dangerous to the liberties of Europe, independent of the weight of the imperial crown, than the union of the French and Spanish monarchies under Philip V. or his descendants.

quence of it, all disputes concerning the Scottish crown were fortunately prevented ⁶⁰.

The principal articles of that treaty were to the following purport: "That the two kingdoms of England and "SCOTLAND should be *united* into ONE, by the name of "GREAT-BRITAIN;—that the succession to the united "kingdom should remain to the princess Sophia, duchess "dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being "Protestants; and that all papists, and persons marrying "papists, should be excluded from, and for ever incapable of inheriting the crown of Great-Britain, or any part "of the dominions thereto belonging;—that the whole "people of Great-Britain should be represented by one "parliament, in which sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, chosen for Scotland, should sit and vote;—that "the subjects of the united kingdom should enjoy an "entire freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation, "and reciprocal communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging to the subjects of either "kingdom;—that the laws in regard to public right, policy, and civil government, should be the same throughout the united kingdom; and that no alteration should "be made in the laws respecting private rights, unless for "the evident utility of the subjects residing in Scotland; "—that the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in "Scotland should not be affected by the union;—and "that the court of session, or college of justice, with all "the other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain "as constituted by the laws of that kingdom, and with the "same authority and privileges as before the union; subject nevertheless to such regulations as might be made "by the parliament of Great-Britain."

Beside these general and permanent articles, it was particularly stipulated, that the sum of three hundred and ninety-eight thousand pounds, granted by the English par-

60 This great event took place on the first of May.

liament, should be paid to Scotland, as an equivalent for that augmentation of the customs and excise, which had become necessary “for preserving an equality of trade throughout the united kingdom,” and which would be applicable toward the payment of the public debt of England, contracted before the union; that this sum should be applied, partly toward the extinction of the national debt of Scotland, partly toward the indemnification of the adventurers in the African and Indian or Darien company; and the residue, after the reimbursement of such individuals as might suffer by the reduction (or rather elevation) of the coin of Scotland to the standard of England, should be devoted to the encouragement of fisheries and manufactures in that kingdom⁶¹.

Though this treaty, all circumstances considered, was neither dishonourable nor disadvantageous to Scotland, yet was it zealously opposed, not only by the adherents of the excluded family, whose particular interest it was to obstruct such a measure, but also by many independent members of the Scottish parliament, on principles of sincere patriotism. Of these, the most firm and resolute was Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun; a man of a cultivated genius, of a warm temper, lofty courage, bold eloquence, and an incorruptible integrity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, to prevent the enactment of the bill of union, and believing it impossible that a majority of his countrymen could ever have been brought to consent to the annihilation of their ancient monarchy without the influence of English gold, he resolved to quit the kingdom, that he might not share in their infamy, by condescending so far as to live among them. On the day of his departure, his friends crowded around him, entreating him to stay. Even after his foot was in the stirrup, they continued their solicitations, anxiously crying, “Will you forsake your coun-

61 See De Foe's *Hist. of the Union*, where the articles are printed at large, with all the arguments for and against them.

“try?” He reverted his head, and darting on them a look of indignation, keenly replied, “It is only fit for the slaves “that sold it!” then leaped upon the saddle, and put spurs to his horse⁶²; leaving the whole company struck with a momentary humiliation, and (blind to the extravagance of his conduct) at a loss which most to admire, the pride of his virtue or the elevation of his spirit.

That some of the evils, foretold by the Scottish patriots at the union, have since overtaken their countrymen, cannot be denied; particularly the accumulation of taxes, in consequence of the growth of the English national debt (which then amounted only to about twenty millions), and the multiplication of the herd of insolent revenue-officers. Yet have the Scots, from that æra, enjoyed more happiness, as a people, and risen to more wealth and consequence, as individuals, than they could have attained in their disunited state.

Nor has England reason to complain of the union. Instead of turbulent neighbours, she has gained, by communicating her privileges to the Scots, hardy soldiers to fight her battles, and industrious workmen in every branch of manufacture. She has secured for ever the undivided sovereignty of Great-Britain, and the liberties of Englishmen, against the usurpations of foreign or domestic ambition, by making the conservation of that sovereignty and those liberties, the common interest of all the brave and free subjects of the UNITED KINGDOM.

62 This anecdote the author had from the late Patrick, lord Elibank.

LETTER XXII.

The General View of Europe continued, from the Refusal of the French Offers of Peace, at the End of the Campaign of 1706, to the Commencement of the Conférences at Gertruydenberg, in 1710.

THE king of France, finding all his offers of peace rejected with disdain by the confederates, A. D. 1707. prepared himself to brave, once more, that storm which he could not dispel. To supply the want of money, he issued bills upon the mint, to a very large amount, in imitation of the exchequer bills circulated by the English government; but, by refusing to take those bills in payment of the taxes, he threw them into such discredit, that, after every expedient to raise their value had been tried, they remained at a discount of more than fifty *per cent.* He was therefore obliged, on the failure of this desperate resource, which augmented the distress of his people at the same time that it weakened their confidence in the crown, to continue the practice of burthensome loans, and to anticipate the royal revenue¹.

But, notwithstanding these disadvantages, he was enabled to make very considerable preparations for opposing the efforts of his victorious enemies. He extended a line of militia along the coasts of the channel, and the shores of the Mediterranean: he formed an army in Flanders, under the duke de Vendome; another was collected by Villars, in the neighbourhood of Strasburg; troops were levied in Navarre, and in Roussillon; and large reinforcements were sent to the army of the duke of Berwick in Spain. These succours were partly furnished in consequence of fresh, but not unexpected, disasters in Italy. The French troops, to

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xxviii.

the number of fifteen thousand, being obliged to evacuate the duchies of Milan, Mantua, and Modena, by a capitulation signed in the spring, were dispatched to the assistance of Philip. The kingdom of Naples was subdued by the allies; and the few places in the dominions of the duke of Savoy, that were still held by French or Spanish garrisons, were reduced before the close of the campaign².

The fortune of the war was very different in Spain. There the allies, more through their own misconduct than the strength of the enemy, received a dreadful overthrow. Charles III., pretending that Catalonia was in danger, separated himself, with a large detachment, from the principal army, commanded by the earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas; who, having exhausted all their provisions in Valencia, attempted to penetrate into New Castile. With this view, they passed the river Xucar, and marched toward Almanza. The duke of Berwick did not hesitate a moment to give them battle. Ignorant of

April 25, the succours he had received, the confederates

N. S. eagerly advanced to the charge, flushed with former victories, and animated with hopes of new success. The action soon became general, and the field was obstinately disputed. The English and Dutch infantry penetrated through the centre of the enemy, and proceeded as far as the walls of Almanza. Meanwhile the French and Spanish cavalry, on the right wing, twice broke the horse of the allies, and were as often repulsed by their foot, under cover of which the horse rallied. In order to overcome this difficulty, the duke of Berwick ordered a body of infantry to advance to the assistance of his cavalry on the right. A vigorous charge was given, both by horse and foot at the same time. The left wing of the allies now gave way; and their right, which had hitherto maintained its ground, being flanked by the right of the enemy, was broken and dispersed; while their gallant infantry in the

2 *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.—Voltaire, *Siècle*.

centre, where they had carried every thing before them, in attempting to retreat, on seeing the defeat of their two wings, were surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, and almost all were killed or made prisoners³.

Few victories have been more complete than that which the duke of Berwick gained at Almanza. Four thousand of the confederates were slain, and six thousand became captives. Among the latter were six major-generals, as many brigadiers, twenty colonels, and a proportional number of inferior officers, said to amount to eight hundred. All the artillery of the vanquished, most of their baggage, with one hundred and twenty colours and standards, fell into the hands of the victors. Las Minas, who was wounded in the arm, and who had seen his mistress, fighting in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his side, escaped to Xativa; and the earl of Galway, who had received two cuts in the face, stopped not his flight till he arrived at Tortosa, near the mouth of the Ebro⁴.

The duke of Orléans, who now assumed the command of the French army, did not neglect the opportunity which fortune and the abilities of the duke of Berwick had procured him, of retrieving the affairs of his family in Spain. He reduced the city, and recovered the whole kingdom of Valencia: he directed his march into Arragon, and reduced Saragossa and other towns under the dominion of Philip; while Charles either loitered in Catalonia, or made unimportant excursions toward the frontiers of Roussillon⁵.

3 Duke of Berwick, vol. i.—Burnet, book vii.

4 *Hist. Gen. d'Espagne*.—*Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. vii. fol. edit.

5 Duke of Berwick, *ubi sup.* "I must not here omit," says this intelligent observer of mankind, "a singular circumstance. The count de la Puebla, who commanded in Saragossa, made the inhabitants believe, that the reports raised concerning a new army coming from Navarre were false, and even that the camp, which appeared, was nothing more than a phantom formed by magic art. In this persuasion, the clergy went in procession upon the ramparts; and from that eminent situation, after a number of prayers, exorcised the pretended spectres that were in sight!—It is not a little surprising," adds he, "that the people could be

The affairs of the confederates did not wear a more favourable aspect in Germany. The continuance of the rebellion in Hungary, combined with the habitual inactivity of the court of Vienna, and the sluggishness of the German princes, had almost exposed the empire to calamities as great as those from which it was relieved by the battle of Blenheim. The margrave of Bareith, who had succeeded to the command of the Imperialists on the death of the prince of Baden, was in no condition, in the early part of the campaign, to oppose the French under Villars; who, having passed the Rhine at Strasburg, forced the lines of the Germans at Stollhoffen, entered Suabia, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, and penetrated to the Danube⁶.

But the superiority of the French, in the heart of Germany, was not the only danger which the empire had now to fear. Charles XII., who had remained in Saxony during the winter, found some plausible pretences for quarreling with the court of Vienna; and although all reasonable satisfaction was given him, on the subject of his complaints, he continued to urge them with an obstinacy suitable to his character. From complaints he proceeded to demands; requiring that the Protestants in Silesia should be indulged with the free exercise of their religion, according to the treaty of Westphalia; that his imperial majesty should relinquish all pretensions to the quota which the king of Sweden was bound to furnish, by the tenure on which he possessed his German dominions; and that the whole Swedish army, in its return through Silesia into Poland, should be maintained at the charge of the court of Vienna⁷.

" so credulous as to adopt such an idea. But they were soon undeceived by the
" hussars of the army of the duke of Orléans, who having briskly pursued, to the
" gates of the city, a party of the count's cavalry, cut off some of their heads!"
Mem. vol. i.

6 Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tome x.—Burnet, book vii.

7 *Contin.* Pufend. lib. vii.

The queen of England, though sensible that the emperor was not in a situation to refuse those imperious demands, was apprehensive that the pride of Joseph might overcome his attention to the interests of the allies⁸. She therefore ordered the duke of Marlborough, who was no less a statesman and a courtier than a general, to repair to Saxony, and attempt to soothe the king of Sweden. When the duke arrived in the Swedish camp, at Alt-Ranstadt, where he was received with the respect due to his character, he paid Charles some handsome compliments, to which no answer was returned, but which had perhaps the desired effect. He went even so far as to tell the northern conqueror, that he should esteem it a peculiar happiness, if he could have an opportunity of learning, under so great a commander, those parts of the military science which he did not yet understand. And having acquired, by a long course of experience, the art of diving into the characters of men, and of reading their most secret thoughts in their looks and gestures, he soon discovered the inclinations and views of the king of Sweden. In the pleasure with which he talked of the victories of the allies, Marlborough perceived his aversion against France; while the kindling of his eye at the name of the czar, and a map of Russia lying upon his table, made this profound politician intimately acquainted with the future designs of Charles. He therefore took leave, without making him any proposals; sensible that his disputes with the emperor could be easily accommodated, as all his demands would be granted⁹. England and Holland accordingly guaranteed the promises of the court of Vienna; and the czar having entered Poland, the king of Sweden repassed the

⁸ The emperor, it appears, was by no means so haughty as the queen imagined; for, when the pope complained of his restoring the churches to the Protestants, he facetiously replied, "Had the king of Sweden proposed that I should become a Lutheran myself, I know not what might have been the consequence." *Mémoires de Brandebourg*, tome i.

⁹ "These particulars," says Voltaire, "I had from the duchess of Marlborough."

Oder, in quest of new victories, and in hopes of soon returning to hold the balance of Europe.

In Flanders no event of importance happened during this campaign, nor any thing memorable at sea. The duke de Vendome prudently avoided an action, and made his movements with so much judgement, that Marlborough found no opportunity of attacking him to advantage. The naval operations were chiefly confined to the siege of Toulon.

The reduction of the Spanish dominions in Italy, and the capitulation with respect to the Milanese, having left prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy perfectly disengaged, a plan was formed by them, in conjunction with the maritime powers, for invading France from that quarter, and reducing Toulon or Marseilles; an enterprise which, if attended with success, it was hoped would put an end to the war. The prince and the duke, after having for some time amused the enemy, by a feint upon Dauphiné, in order to conceal their real design, turned off toward the shore of the Mediterranean; forced the passage of the river Var; proceeded along the coast of Provence; and arrived, by a long and difficult march, before Toulon; while sir Cloudesly Shovel, with a formidable fleet, attended their motions, supplied the army with necessaries, and blocked up the town by sea¹⁰.

Unfortunately for the allies, only two hours before prince Eugene appeared with the van of the Imperialists, the French had found means to throw eight thousand men into Toulon. They had taken possession of all the eminences that commanded the city; and the confederates, in attempting to gain these, were either repulsed with great slaughter, or obliged to acquire and maintain them at a still greater expense of blood. Discouraged by circumstances so adverse, by the bad condition of their army, and the want of concert in their operations,—and apprehensive of being surrounded by a superior force, as the

French were in motion on every side,—the duke and the prince judged it prudent to abandon their enterprise, though sensible that the hopes and fears of all Europe were suspended on its issue. But this expedition, though finally unsuccessful, was highly detrimental to France. The confederates, in their passage and return through Provence, ruined a considerable extent of country. And the detachments drawn from the army of marechal Villars, in order to succour Toulon, obliged him to relinquish all his high projects in Germany, and to repass the Rhine, instead of advancing beyond the Danube¹¹.

The failure of the attempt upon Toulon however, the inactive campaign in Flanders, and the misfortunes of the confederates in Spain, furnished the enemies of the duke of Marlborough and of the lord-treasurer Godolphin with plausible pretexts for discrediting their measures; and intrigues were formed for overturning their administration. These intrigues were chiefly conducted by Mr. Secretary Harley, who had acquired a great share of the queen's confidence, by flattering her political prejudices; and who, in order to strengthen his interest, had secured the support of Mrs. Masham, a new female favourite, who had partly supplanted the duchess of Marlborough in the affections of the queen¹²; or rather in that ascendancy, though she did not usurp the same absolute dominion, which the duchess had long exercised over the mind of her timid mistress.

Apprised of the scheme that was formed for their ruin, Marlborough and Godolphin complained to Anne of Harley's intrigues; and not meeting with a satisfactory answer, they threatened to resign their places, and ab-
A. D. 1708.
 sented themselves from the cabinet. The council was struck with consternation. Even the secretary shrank from the load that was ready to fall on his shoulders. And the queen, from fear, not regard, recalled her mini-

11 Barre.—Burnet.—Voltaire.

12 Burnet, book vii.

sters, and dismissed Harley, whose fortune his friend St. John and others chose to follow, by resigning their places; yet not without hopes of having it one day in their power to direct the councils of their sovereign, by fostering her affection for the excluded branch of her family, and increasing her secret repugnance to the succession of the house of Hanover¹³.

This division in the English cabinet, and the discontents in Scotland, occasioned by the union of the kingdoms, encouraged Louis to make an attempt in favour of the pretended prince of Wales, whom he had acknowledged by the title of James III., not doubting that he should be able, at least, to create such distractions in Great-Britain as would weaken the efforts of the allies in Flanders. To that attempt he was farther incited by the eager solicitations of the Scottish Jacobites, who offered to raise and equip thirty thousand men, at their own expense, and to furnish them with provisions until they could march into England¹⁴.

In consequence of these magnificent promises, the pretender, under the name of the Chevalier de St. George, sailed from Dunkirk on board a French fleet, commanded by M. de Fourbin, with above five thousand soldiers, ten thousand musquets, and a supply of other implements of war. Their purpose was to enter the frith of Forth, and land in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. But, through the ignorance or inattention of their pilots, they overshot their destination; and before they could repair their error, sir George Byng, with a superior English fleet, had taken possession of the frith¹⁵. Seeing now no prospect of success, and afraid of the capture of his whole squadron, the French admiral returned to Dunkirk, with the loss of only one ship, but to the utter confusion of the hopes of the pretender and his adherents, both in France and Great-Britain¹⁶.

13 Burnet, book vii.—See also *Stuart Papers*.

14 Hooke's *Negotiations*.

15 Burnet, book vii.—Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

16 It is truly amusing to observe the extravagance of the Jacobite writers in speak

The English ministry, in concert with the parliament, took the most vigorous measures for repelling the intended invasion, as well as for continuing the war. And no sooner had all apprehensions of danger ceased, than the duke of Marlborough, the great pillar of the nation, and the chief support of the Grand Alliance, went over to Flanders, in order to command the confederate army, in conjunction with prince Eugene, who, in the beginning of the campaign, had headed a separate army upon the Rhine. The French army, commanded by the duke de Vendome in the name of the duke of Burgundy, though more numerous than that of the confederates, studiously avoided an action, or any hostile attempt; until by treachery, under the appearance of surprise, they gained possession of Ghent and Bruges. The duke of Marlborough, accused of being privy to this treachery, demonstrated by his conduct the injustice of the aspersion. Though not yet joined by prince Eugene's army, but assisted by the advice of that consummate general, he passed the Scheld by a

ing of this intended invasion. They confidently affirm, that if the pretender could have landed in Scotland, with only the appearance of an army, he would soon have been enabled to march into England, in spite of all opposition; and, by the junction of his English and Scottish adherents, to give law to a princess who was giving law to Europe! Nay, they do not scruple to declare that the queen's affection for her brother was so great, that, on his approach with a respectable force, she would readily have consented to the breaking of the Union, and to his immediate accession to the Scottish crown, that she might have a more certain prospect of transmitting to him the crown of England; not reflecting that he had, by right of birth, a preferable claim to both crowns, and therefore that any attempt to claim either, in her life-time, must have excited the highest jealousy. The same writers, in the madness of rage at their cruel disappointment, even asserted that Louis gave Fourbin positive orders not to land the troops which he had ordered him to embark; though by their embarkation, which he was under the necessity of ordering, and the voyage to Scotland, in consequence of it, he hazarded the loss of a very considerable armament! (See Macpherson's *Hist. of Great-Britain*, vol. ii., where the reveries of the Jacobite writers may be found.) These are gross absurdities: but it is the unhappiness of party writers in general, and particularly of the abettors of the rights of the unfortunate family of Stuart, to pay little regard to truth, reason, or probability, in the vehement prosecution of their arguments; to the proofs founded on facts, or those arising from circumstances.

forced march, and came up with the enemy near Oudenarde. They could no longer decline a battle; and their situation and superiority in numbers seemed to ensure success to their efforts.

The Scheld, and several enclosures, covered the left wing of the French. A morass lay along their front; and on a rising ground, on their right, they had placed their cavalry, interlined with parties of foot. The infantry of July 11, the allies, advancing across the morass, were received with great firmness by the French foot. N.S. But the British cavalry broke the French horse at the first shock, and the foot intermixed with the squadrons were cut in pieces on the spot. Meantime the French infantry behind the morass had stood their ground against all the efforts of the confederates. In order, however, to avoid being flanked by the British cavalry, now triumphant, they sheltered themselves in the enclosures on the banks of the Scheld; and, although the approach of darkness prevented the defeat from becoming general, the fears and misconduct of the enemy yielded to the allies all the advantages of a complete victory. So great was the panic, that while the confederates expected nothing but a renewal of the action the next morning, the vanquished retreated by five different routes in the night: and that disgraceful and disorderly flight, by breaking the spirit of the soldiers, rendered all the operations of the French timid, during the rest of the campaign. Though they preserved their cannon and baggage, their loss was great; for five thousand of their number were killed, nine thousand taken prisoners, and near six thousand deserted¹⁷.

Immediately after the battle of Oudenarde, the French were reinforced by a strong detachment, under the duke of Berwick, from the Rhine; and the confederates were joined by the prince's army, which escorted a grand con-

voy. This convoy the duke of Berwick, whose troops arrived first, proposed to attack; but that proposal, and every other which he made during the campaign, were rejected by the duke de Vendome, either from jealousy or timidity¹⁸. In consequence of the safe arrival of the convoy, and the troops that guarded it, the siege of Lisle, the principal city in French Flanders, and the second in the dominions of Louis, the key of the kingdom, fortified with all the art of Vauban, was undertaken by the prince, while Marlborough lay encamped in the neighbourhood, to prevent the enemy from interrupting the operations, and forward the necessary supplies to the besiegers.

Few towns were ever, perhaps, more vigorously attacked or defended than Lisle; into which the marechal de Boufflers, an able and experienced officer, had thrown himself, with some of the best troops of France. The garrison consisted of about twelve thousand men; the besiegers, of at least thirty thousand. None of the works were carried without an obstinate struggle; and scarcely were the assailants masters of one place, when they were driven from another, and in danger of losing all their former advantages, gained at a great expense of blood. Yet still they persevered, and by perseverance advanced their progress. Meanwhile Vendome endeavoured to distress them by cutting off their convoys. But in that service he most unaccountably failed, as well as in all his attempts to relieve the place; so that Boufflers, after a gallant defence of two months, was obliged to surrender Lisle. He retired into the citadel, which was also forced to capitulate; and Ghent and Bruges were recovered before the close of the campaign¹⁹.

18 Duke of Berwick, vol. i. As none of these proposals were embraced, it is impossible to say, what success might have attended them; but military men, in general, seem to be of opinion, that most of the measures suggested were highly worthy of being adopted.

19 Burnet, book vii. The duke of Berwick particularly investigates the causes

No event of importance occurred in Germany during the summer. The electors of Hanover and Bavaria, who were opposed to each other on the Upper Rhine, not being in a condition to act with effect in the field, employed themselves chiefly in fortifying their lines; a precaution suggested by a mutual consciousness of weakness²⁰. On the side of Italy, where much was expected, some advantages were gained by the allies, but nothing signal was performed. The duke of Savoy, who, beside his native troops, had in his army twenty thousand men in the pay of Great-Britain and the states, had formed great and extensive projects. He intended to pass through the territories of the Swiss, join the troops of the empire in Alsace, and penetrate into France on that side. But he was so vigorously opposed by Villars, that he was happy in having opened a passage into the enemy's country, and secured his own dominions against the future invasions of the French on the most exposed side, by making himself master of Exilles, La Perouse, and Fenestrelles²¹.

The confederates were yet less successful in Spain. There the house of Bourbon had two armies in the field, on the side of Catalonia; one under the duke of Orléans, another led by the duke de Noailles, and a third army in Estremadura, commanded by the marquis de Bay. Though Charles III. had not a sufficient force to enable him to face

of the capture of Lisle. And it appears, if his advice had been followed, that the convoys of the confederates would have been effectually cut off, and perhaps prince Eugene, and even the duke of Marlborough, defeated, by the assistance of troops that might have been drawn out of the neighbouring garrisons, without their knowledge, to reinforce an already strong army, by which they were surrounded; and which could, with such reinforcement, have amused the one, while it gave battle to the other. It also appears, on the same authority, that Marlborough, on one occasion, would have totally defeated Vendome, if he had not been prevented from hazarding a battle by the field-deputies of the States. See the *duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. i. and the *Letters* at the end of the volume, which contain many curious particulars in the military line, and fully illustrate the principal events of the campaign in Flanders in 1708.

20 Barre, *Hist d'Allemagne*, tome x.—Burnet, book vii.

21 Burnet, *ubi sup.*—*State of Europe*, 1708.

the duke of Orléans in the field, the latter was prevented, by the unprovided condition of his army, from making such progress as might have been feared. He took, however, Tortosa in the summer; and Denia and Alicant, in the province of Valencia, also fell into the hands of the French. The duke de Noailles, opposed by the prince of Darmstadt, performed nothing of moment, except furnishing his troops with provisions at the expense of the Catalans; and the season of action, on the side of Portugal, was passed in a state of absolute inactivity²².

The operations by sea were attended with very considerable success on the part of the confederates. Sir John Leake, having carried to Catalonia the princess of Wolfenbuttel, whom Charles had espoused, took on board some troops, and directed his course to Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. No sooner did the English fleet appear than the monks, gained by cardinal Grimani, who was in the interest of the house of Austria, ran in bodies to the streets and public places, holding the crucifix in their hands, and assured the inhabitants, who flocked around them, that God had made use of heretics to give them a better master. This made such an impression on the populace, that the viceroy was forced to accept such terms as the invaders chose to grant; and the whole island submitted without a blow²³. The same admiral, assisted by major-general Stanhope, also took the island of Minorca; a conquest in itself less valuable than Sardinia, but of greater importance to England when at war with Spain, on account of the

²² *Hist. d'Espagne*, tome ii.—*Mém. de Noailles*, tome ii. But the generals who commanded there, and whose conduct in the field was so little worthy of praise, gained great credit by a wise and humane convention, that can never be enough admired. They agreed, that the peasants, on the frontiers of Spain and Portugal, should not be disturbed, by the troops of either party, in cultivating the soil, or in feeding their cattle; and that the war should, for the future, be considered as subsisting only between regular armies, or men in military service, and not between the private inhabitants of the two kingdoms.

²³ *Hist. d'Espagne*, tome ii.—*State of Europe*, 1708.

excellent harbour of Mahon, and the strong castle of St. Philip, by which it is defended.

The reduction of those islands, which, in conjunction with the fortress of Gibraltar, gave the maritime powers the absolute command of the Mediterranean, induced the Italian states to submit to some antiquated claims of the emperor Joseph, that would otherwise have been rejected with contempt. Even the pope, who had hitherto adhered to the interests of Philip, and who had raised an army for the defence of the ecclesiastical state, no sooner heard of the surrender of Bologna to the Imperialists, and that an English fleet was ready to bombard Civita Vecchia, than he promised to acknowledge Charles as lawful king of Spain, in order to prevent Rome itself from being again sacked by the barbarians of the North; for as such the Italians still considered the English and Germans.

The death of prince George of Denmark, husband to the queen of England, which happened during these transactions abroad, made no alteration in the state of English politics, on which his feeble genius, and unimportant character, had never had any influence. The great success of the campaign confirmed the ascendant that Marlborough and Godolphin had acquired, in consequence of the expulsion of Harley from the cabinet; and they found means to reconcile the dissatisfied Whigs to their measures, by dividing with the leaders of that party the power and emoluments of government. The earl of Pembroke was appointed to the place of lord high admiral, vacant by the decease of the prince of Denmark; lord Somers, who had been out of office ever since he was deprived of the great seal by king William, was made president of the council; and the earl of Wharton, a man of great abilities, but destitute of any steady principle, was declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. These judicious promotions contributed to preserve that unanimity, which had for some time appeared in parliament, and which pro-

duced the grant of large sums for continuing the war. Six millions and a half were voted for the service of the ensuing campaign; and ten thousand men were added to the existing force. The Dutch also agreed to an augmentation of their troops²⁴.

While the confederates were taking such vigorous measures for the prosecution of hostilities, serious proposals were made by the French monarch for restoring tranquillity to Europe. A variety of circumstances—the defeat at Oudenarde, the loss of Lisle, a famine in France, the consequent failure of resources, the discontents of the people, and a want of harmony among the servants of the crown—induced Louis to offer terms of peace, adequate to the success of his enemies, and suitable to the melancholy situation of his own affairs. He agreed to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to the house A. D. 1709. of Austria, without any equivalent; to cede to the emperor his conquests on the Upper Rhine; to give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lisle, Condé, and Maubeuge, as a barrier to Holland; to acknowledge the elector of Brandenburg as king of Prussia; the duke of Hanover as ninth elector of the empire; to own the right of queen Anne to the British throne; to remove the pretender from the dominions of France; to acknowledge the succession to the crown of Great-Britain in the Protestant line; to restore every thing required to the duke of Savoy; and to agree to the cessions made to the king of Portugal by his treaty with the confederates²⁵.

But these terms, so honourable as well as advantageous to the allies, and humiliating to the house of Bourbon, were rejected by the plenipotentiaries of the confederates, the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the pensionary Heinsius, from the same motives that had led them to reject the proposals of France in 1706; their personal interests, their prejudices, and their passions.

²⁴ Burnet, book vii.—*State of Europe*, 1708.

²⁵ Printed Preliminaries.

Louis was not permitted to form the most distant hopes of peace, without surrendering the strongest towns in his dominions, as pledges for the entire evacuation of the Spanish monarchy by his grandson. The marquis de Torcy, who was employed in the negotiation, went beyond his powers in making concessions; but all in vain: in proportion as he yielded, the plenipotentiaries of the confederates rose in their demands. Conference followed conference without effect. At last Heinsius framed forty propositions, many of which, beside being unfavourable or severe in themselves, were expressed in the most dictatorial language. Louis agreed to thirty-five of these, but rejected the rest with disdain, notwithstanding the distressed state of his kingdom, and the evils which he apprehended from the continuance of the war²⁶. He threw himself upon his people, explained his own ample concessions, and the haughty terms proposed by the allies. The pride of the French nation was roused. They resolved to make new efforts in support of their humbled monarch; and the very famine, which occasioned so much misery, proved of advantage to the state in this necessity, as many young men who wanted bread became soldiers²⁷.

As soon as the conferences for the re-establishment of peace were broken off, the allied army (amounting to above a hundred thousand men), commanded by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, was formed on the plains of Lisle. Villars, who had been called to the command of the French forces in Flanders, as the last support of his sinking country, occupied a strong post between Couriere and the town of Bethune. Those places covered his two wings, and he was defended in front by the villages of la Bassée and Pont-a-Vendin. By this position of his army, he covered the cities of Douay and Arras, the reduction of which would have opened a passage for the allies into the heart of France. After advancing within two

²⁶ *M. de Torcy*, tome i.

²⁷ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xx.

leagues of his camp, and viewing his situation, the generals of the confederates, not judging it prudent to attack him, suddenly drew off their troops, and sat down before Tournay, one of the strongest and most ancient cities in Flanders. The citadel, constructed with all the skill of Vauban, was yet stronger than the town. But with so much vigour and address were both attacked, that the place itself was taken in twenty-one days; and the chief fortress, into which the governor had retired with the remains of his garrison, was compelled to surrender at the end of a month²⁸.

The confederates no sooner found themselves masters of Tournay, which they had been permitted to reduce without any annoyance from the enemy, than they formed the design of besieging Mons. They accordingly pursued the necessary steps for that purpose; while Villars, having embraced the bold resolution of protecting or relieving the place, passed the Scarpe, and encamped between that river and the Scheld. Disappointed in his hopes of arriving at Mons before the main army of the allies, the French general took possession of a strong camp, about a league from the invested city, and resolved to give all possible disturbance to the operations of the besiegers. His right extended to the village of Malplaquet, which lay behind the extensive and impenetrable wood of Saart: his left was covered by another thick wood; and his centre was defended by three lines of trenches, drawn along a narrow plain; the whole being secured by a fortification of trees, which had been cut down and carried from the neighbouring woods, surrounded with all their branches²⁹.

The generals of the confederates, elate with past success, or persuaded that Mons could not be taken without dislodging the enemy, resolved to attack Villars in that strong position, although his army was little inferior to

28 Kane's *Campaigns*.—*Life of the duke of Marlborough*.

29 *Mém. de Feuquieres*.—Kane's *Campaigns*.

Sept. 11. theirs. In consequence of this resolution, they advanced to the charge early in the morning, both armies having prepared themselves for action during the preceding night. The British troops were opposed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the centre of the French army. Villars placed himself at the head of his left wing, and committed the charge of his right to Boufflers; who, though a senior officer, condescended to act under him, that he might have an opportunity of saving his country. After an awful pause of almost two hours, the engagement was begun; and the firing, in a moment, extended from wing to wing. Few battles, in any age, have been so fierce and bloody; and very few had been so long contested, since the improvement of the art of war in consequence of the invention of gunpowder.

The British troops, led by the duke of Argyle, having passed a morass, deemed impracticable, attacked with such fury the left of the enemy, stationed in the wood, that they were obliged to retire into the plain behind it; where they again formed, and renewed their efforts. Meanwhile the Dutch, under count Tilly and the prince of Orange, were engaged with the right of the French army; and advancing in three lines to the entrenchments, gave and received a terrible fire for the space of an hour. Some French battalions being thrown into disorder, were rallied and confirmed in their station, by the vigilance and courage of Boufflers; and the Dutch also yielding, in their turn, were brought back to the charge by the activity and perseverance of the prince of Orange. Enraged at this unexpected obstinacy of the French in both wings, and perceiving that Villars had weakened his centre in order to support his left, prince Eugene determined to attack, in person, the entrenchments in front. He accordingly led on a body of fresh troops; entered the enemy's lines, flanked a regiment of French guards, and

obliged them to fly. Villars, in hastening to support his centre, was wounded, and carried off the field. But Boufflers, notwithstanding this misfortune, continued to maintain the fight; and when he found he could no longer sustain the united efforts of the prince and the duke, who showed that they were determined to conquer or perish, he made an excellent retreat³⁰.

The confederates, after all their exertions, gained little beside the field of battle; and they are said to have purchased that honour with the lives of fifteen thousand men. The French did not lose above ten thousand. But so imposing is the name of victory, that the allies were suffered to invest Mons, and to carry on their operations without the smallest disturbance. The surrender of that important place put an end to the business of the campaign in Flanders³¹.

The allies were less successful in other quarters. The elector of Hanover, who commanded the army of the empire on the Upper Rhine, formed some important schemes, but found the imperial troops in no condition to second his views; and the count de Merci, whom he had detached with a considerable force into Upper Alsace, was defeated by the count de Bourg, and forced to repass the Rhine. Certain disputes between the emperor and the duke of Savoy, relating to some territories in the duchy of Milan, rendered the campaign altogether inactive on the side of Dauphiné. In Spain, the chevalier d'Asfeld took the castle of Alicant, which was gallantly defended by two British regiments; and the English and Portuguese, under the earl of Galway, were routed by the marquis de Bay, in the province of Estremadura. On the other hand, count Staremburg, who commanded the forces of Charles in Catalonia, having endeavoured in vain to bring the marechal de Bezons to an engagement, took Balaguer

³⁰ Feuquieres.—Kane.

³¹ Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xx.—*State of Europe*, 1709.

in his presence, and closed the campaign with that successful enterprise³².

Though the misfortunes of France, during this campaign, were by no means so depressing as she had reason to apprehend, Louis renewed his application for peace, as soon as the season of action was over; and conferences were appointed at Gertruydenberg, early in the spring, in order to adjust the terms. But it will be proper, before we enter into the particulars of that negotiation, to carry forward the eventful history of Charles XII. and his Russian antagonist.

The king of Sweden, after having acted in the imperious manner already related, quitted Saxony, in September 1707, and returned, at the head of forty-three thousand men, to Poland; where the czar had attempted, though ineffectually, to retrieve the affairs of Augustus, during the absence of Charles. Peter, who was still in Lithuania, retired on the approach of the conquering Swede, and directed his march toward the Nieper. But Charles was determined that he should not escape to his own dominions without hazarding a battle. Having entered Grodno on the same day that the czar left it, he endeavoured, by forced marches at that severe season in a northern climate, through a country abounding with morasses, deserts, and immense forests, to come up with the enemy. Peter, however, safely passed the Nieper, notwithstanding this romantic pursuit; Charles having only the satisfaction of defeating, after an obstinate engagement, an army of twenty thousand Russians strongly entrenched³³.

But the czar, though now in his own territories, was not without apprehensions, in regard to the issue of the contest in which he was engaged; he therefore sent serious proposals of peace to Charles. "I will treat at Moscow!"—

32 *Mém. de Noailles*, tome iii.—*State of Europe*, 1709.

33 Contin. Pufend. lib. vii.—Voltaire, *Hist. de Ch. XII.* liv. iv.

said the Swedish monarch. "My brother Charles," replied Peter, when informed of this haughty answer, "always affects to play the Alexander; but he will not, I hope, find in me a Darius³⁴." This anecdote strongly marks the characters of these two extraordinary men. Charles, as brave and confident as Alexander, but utterly void of foresight, attempted, without concerting any regular plan of operations, to march to Moscow; and the czar took care to prevent him from reaching it, in the direct line, by destroying the roads and desolating the country.

Thus thwarted in his favourite project of marching directly to the ancient capital of Russia, the Swedish prince was induced, with his army considerably diminished by famine, fatigue, and partial engagements, to attempt a passage thither through the Ukraine, on the invitation of Mazeppa, chief of the Cossacks; who, being disgusted with the arbitrary demeanor of the czar, in an interview which he had with that prince at Moscow, promised not only to supply the Swedes with provisions on their march, but to furnish them with a reinforcement of thirty thousand men. These were to join the Swedish monarch on the banks of the Desna, where he expected also to be joined by general Lewenhaupt, whom he had ordered to march from Livonia with fifteen thousand Swedes and supplies of various kinds. Not doubting of ultimate success, the northern conqueror entered the Ukraine in September 1708, and advanced to the place of rendezvous, in spite of every obstacle which nature or the enemy could throw in his way.

But fortune, at length tired of seconding the wild and inconsiderate enterprises of the fool-hardy Charles, now resolved to punish him severely for his contempt of her former favours. When he reached the Desna, he found nothing but frightful deserts, instead of magazines; and, instead of reinforcements, he saw a body of Russians on

the opposite bank, ready to dispute his passage. Though his troops were nearly exhausted with hunger and fatigue—though he was ignorant of the fate of Lewenhaupt, and uncertain of the fidelity of Mazeppa—he determined to cross the river in the face of the enemy, and effected his purpose with little loss. Advancing into that desolate country, he was at last joined by Mazeppa, who appeared rather as a distressed prince, seeking refuge in his camp, than a powerful ally, from whom he expected succours. Instead of the promised number of men, he was only accompanied by about six thousand. The czar, having received information of his intrigues, had ordered his principal friends to be apprehended, and broken upon the wheel. His towns were reduced to ashes, his treasures seised, and his troops dispersed³⁵.

This disappointment was deemed but a slight misfortune by the king of Sweden, who confidently expected the safe arrival of Lewenhaupt and his convoy. This officer arrived, but in a condition no less deplorable than that of Mazeppa. After three engagements with the Russians, in which he distinguished himself equally by his courage and conduct, he had been obliged to set fire to his waggons, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and was happy to escape with four thousand men; the wretched remnant of his gallant army, enfeebled by hunger and laborious exertion. Charles, who was unable to relieve their necessities, was earnestly exhorted by count Piper to pass the depth of winter in a small town of the Ukraine, named Romana, and depend on the friendship of Mazeppa and the Cossacks for provisions; or to repass, without delay, the Desna and the Nieper, and return to Poland, where his presence was much wanted, and where his army might be conveniently put into winter quarters. He rejected both these proposals; and notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and although his followers were

³⁵ *Hist. de Russie*, chap. xvii.—*Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. iv.

in a great measure destitute of shoes and even of clothing, he resolved to proceed. In this mad march, he had the mortification to see two thousand of his troops perish by hunger and cold. Yet he pressed forward; and, after a variety of obstructions and delays, occasioned by the hovering parties of the enemy, and one of the most intense frosts ever known in those northern regions, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Pultowa, a small Russian town, situated on the river Worslaw, at the eastern extremity of the Ukraine³⁶.

But of whatever extravagance Charles may be accused, in marching thus far, through a wild and rugged country, in a remarkably severe season, he cannot be blamed for endeavouring to make himself master of Pultowa. It was one of the magazines of the czar, and well stored with provisions and other necessaries. But, beside being naturally strong, it was defended by a garrison of nine thousand men; and Peter lay at no great distance, with an army of seventy thousand, ready to attempt its relief. These unfavourable circumstances might have staggered the resolution of a Cæsar or a Marlborough; but to Charles, whose desire of encountering danger was even stronger than his passion for conquest, they were only so many incentives to undertake the enterprise. He accordingly invested Pultowa with his half-famished army, now reduced to thirty thousand men, of whom not more than eighteen thousand were Swedes; and yet with this small force, insufficient to cut off the communication between the garrison and the Russian army, he hoped not only to take the town, but to defeat and even to dethrone the czar, although his other disadvantages were many.

As Charles had been under the necessity of leaving the greater part of his heavy cannon in the morasses and defiles through which he passed, the regular progress of the siege was slow. The garrison bravely repelled all attempts

36 *Hist. de Russie*, ubi sup.

to carry the place by assault; and the king was dangerously wounded in the heel in viewing the works. Meanwhile the czar, having collected his forces, advanced to the relief of Pultowa, and made such a disposition of his army as showed that he was no novice in the art of war. Charles, disregarding the torture arising from his wound, was fired at the approach of an enemy whom he despised. Betrayed by a false idea of honour, he could not bear the thought of waiting for battle in his entrenchments. Having appointed seven thousand men to guard the lines before the town, he ordered his other troops to march out, and attack the Russian camp, he himself being carried in a litter. The Swedes charged with great impetuosity, and broke the Russian cavalry. But the horse rallied behind the foot, which remained firm; and the czar's artillery made such havock among the ranks of the assailants, that, after a desperate combat of two hours, the Swedes and their associates were totally routed and dispersed. Eight thousand of the vanquished were left dead on the field, and about six thousand taken, together with the king's military chest, containing the spoils of Poland and Saxony. About twelve thousand of the fugitives were obliged to surrender on the banks of the Nieper, for want of boats to carry them over the river; Charles himself, accompanied by three hundred of his guards, with difficulty escaping to Bender, a Turkish town in Bessarabia³⁷.

Scarcely any victory was ever attended with more important consequences than that which Peter the Great obtained at Pultowa. The king of Sweden lost, in one day, the fruits of nine years of successful warfare; and that veteran army, which had spread terror over Europe, was annihilated. The czar was not only relieved from all apprehensions inspired by a powerful antagonist in the heart of his dominions, who threatened to deprive him of his

³⁷ Voltaire, ubi sup.—*Hist. du Nord*, tome ii.—Contin. of Pufendorff.

throne, and to overthrow that grand scheme which he had formed for the civilization of his extensive empire, but was also enabled to forward his plan of improvement by means of the industry and ingenuity of his Swedish prisoners, whom necessity obliged to exert their talents in the most remote parts of Siberia. The elector of Saxony, hearing of the defeat of his conqueror, protested against the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, as extorted from him by terror, and re-entered Poland. His patron, the czar, followed him. Stanislaus was constrained to relinquish his authority; and Augustus found himself once more in possession of the Polish throne. Peter insisted on the cession of Livonia, Ingria, and a great part of Finland; the king of Denmark laid claim to Schonen; his Prussian majesty to Pomerania; and, had not the emperor and the maritime powers interposed, the Swedish monarchy would have been rent to pieces³⁸.

During these transactions Charles remained at Bender; where, through his intrigues, conducted by Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman who shared his misfortunes, he endeavoured to engage the Turks in a war with Russia. In the prosecution of those intrigues we must leave him, and the czar in the more laudable employment of civilising his subjects, till we have terminated the memorable war between the confederates and the house of Bourbon, in regard to the Spanish succession. A. D. 1710.

LETTER XXIII.

A general View of Europe carried forward, from the Beginning of the Conferences at Gertruydenberg, to the Conclusion of the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt.

THOUGH the king of Sweden, during his prosperity, showed no inclination to interfere in A. D. 1710.

the dispute between France and the confederates, Louis still had expectations of being able to engage him in his cause. These expectations were considerably heightened by the keen indignation which Charles expressed at the emperor's open violation of the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, as soon as he recovered from the terror of the Swedish arms. The allies were, therefore, relieved from no small degree of anxiety, by the ruin of that prince's affairs; and Louis was deprived of the last hope of desponding ambition. He accordingly offered the most advantageous terms of peace, in the preliminaries that were made the foundation of the conferences at Gertruydenberg.

As the principal sacrifices in these preliminaries were the same with those proffered in 1709, it will be unnecessary to repeat them here, particularly as they were not accepted. Louis made additions to his concessions, after the commencement of the negotiation. He agreed not only to give up the Spanish monarchy without an equivalent, and to acknowledge Charles III. as lawful king of Spain, but to pay a subsidy of a million of livres a month till his grandson Philip should be expelled. He even relinquished Alsace to the emperor; and, as a security for the performance of the articles of the treaty, he engaged to deliver the fortified towns of French Flanders, yet in his possession, into the hands of the allies. But the haughtiness of the states, to whom prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, secure of the controlling influence of the pensionary Heinsius, had persuaded the emperor and the queen of England to commit the whole management of the negotiation, encouraged their deputies, Buys and Vander-dussen, to rise in their demands, in proportion as the plenipotentiaries of France advanced in their concessions. These insolent republicans went so far as to insist, that Louis, instead of paying a subsidy toward the war against Philip, should assist the confederates with all his forces, to drive his grandson from the Spanish throne¹.

1 De Torcy, tome ii.

It was impossible for the French monarch to submit to so humiliating a requisition; and yet he was unwilling to break off the treaty. The conferences at Gertruydenberg were, therefore, idly protracted, while the armies, on both sides, took the field. At length, the marechal d'Uxelles and the abbé de Polignac, the plenipotentiaries of Louis, returned to Versailles, after having sent a letter to the pensionary Heinsius, declaring the demands of the deputies of the states unjust and unreasonable².

In the mean time the confederates were making considerable progress in Flanders. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, having assembled the allied army more early than was expected, entered the French ^{April 23,} lines without resistance, and sat down before ^{N.S.} Douay. This city, strong in its situation, but ill fortified, was defended by a garrison of eight thousand men. Villars, seemingly inclined to attempt the relief of the place, crossed the Scarpe, and advanced within cannon-shot of the allies; but finding them strongly entrenched, and being sensible that the loss of one battle might endanger the very existence of the French monarchy, he thought proper to abandon Douay to its fate³. It surrendered after a siege of two months. Villars observed the same prudent conduct during the remainder of the cam- ^{June 26.} paign, which was concluded with the taking of Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire; places of importance, which were not acquired by the confederates without a great expense of blood.

No memorable events signalised the campaign in Germany; nor were any exploits of consequence performed on the side of Piedmont; where the vigilance of the duke of Berwick defeated all the attempts of the allies to penetrate into Dauphiné, notwithstanding their superior force. The campaign was more fruitful of incidents in Spain.

The two competitors for the crown of that kingdom took

² De Torcy, tome ii.

³ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.

the field in person, and seemed determined to put all to the hazard of a battle. They accordingly met near Almenara. There general Stanhope, who commanded the British troops, slew with his own hand the Spanish general, Amesa-ga, and routed the cavalry of Philip, while the count de Staremburg put the infantry to flight. The Spaniards

Aug. 20. were defeated, in a more bloody engagement, at Sa-ragossa. And in this victory, which threatened to decide the fate of the Spanish monarchy, the British troops, under general Stanhope, had also the chief share.

Charles III., instead of securing Pampeluna, the only pass by which French troops could enter Spain, marched directly to Madrid, at the head of his victorious army; and Philip, who had retired thither, was obliged to quit his capital a second time. The aspect of affairs there, however, was not very flattering to his rival. All the grandees had left the city; and the Castilians, in general, seemed resolved to shed the last drop of their blood rather than have a king imposed upon them by heretics⁴.

Meantime the duke de Vendome (whose reputation was still high, notwithstanding his unfortunate campaign in the Netherlands) having assumed, at the request of Philip, the chief command of the forces of the house of Bourbon in Spain, its views soon began to be more promising. The Castilian nobles crowded, with their followers, round the standard of a general in whose conduct they could confide. And Vendome's army, strengthened by these brave volunteers, was farther reinforced by thirty-four battalions of French foot, and thirty-one squadrons of horse, detached by the duke of Berwick from Dauphiné. Another body of French troops prepared to enter Catalonia from Roussillon, under the duke de Noailles; so that the generals of the allies, neglected by the courts of Vienna and Great-Britain, as well as by the states-general, and at variance among themselves, were again compelled to abandon Madrid.

⁴ Burnet, book vii.—*Hist. d'Espagne*, tome ii.

The confederates now directed their march toward Catalonia, whither Charles had already retired, in order to protect that warlike province; and, for the benefit of subsistence, they divided their army into two bodies. Staremberg, with the main body, marched in front, and Stanhope, with five thousand British subjects, brought up the rear. Not reflecting that hope, as well as fear, gives wings to soldiers, the English general allowed himself to be surrounded by Vendome at Brihuega. He defended himself with great spirit; but, as it was not a fortified town, he was obliged to surrender at discretion⁵. Nor was this all.

Staremberg, apprised of Stanhope's danger, had marched, though reluctantly, to his relief, with the principal army. And this unwilling aid had almost occasioned a greater misfortune than that which it failed to prevent. Staremberg had advanced too far to retreat with safety in the face of the enemy. Vendome forced him to an engagement at Villa Viciosa, about two leagues Dec. 10. from the scene of Stanhope's disaster. Between the armies there was a great disparity of numbers, the allies being inferior by one half to the French and Spaniards; yet did Staremberg, one of the ablest commanders in that military age, exert himself so greatly, both as a general and a soldier, that the battle was fierce, obstinate, and bloody. The Spaniards, under Philip, broke the left wing of their adversaries. But their right continued firm in spite of all the efforts of the French, while Staremberg made the centre of the enemy give way; so that Vendome judged a retreat necessary, in order to avoid the danger of a total defeat⁶.

⁵ Burnet, book vii.—*Hist. d'Espagne*, tome ii.

⁶ Burnet, book vii.—Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.—This account of the battle of Villa Viciosa, though different from that of some historians, is confirmed by a letter from Philip to his queen, dated at the camp of Fuentes, the 11th of December, 1710. "M. de Vendome" (says he, after relating the progress of the action), "seeing that our centre was giving way, and that our left wing of cavalry made no impression upon their right, thought it time to propose retreating toward Trujilla,

The general of the allies however found, on mustering his forces, that, in consequence of the capture of the British troops, and the loss of men during the action, he was not in a condition to keep the field. He was also in want of provisions, and had no prospect of a speedy supply: he therefore hastily decamped and continued his march into Catalonia, leaving to the vanquished all the advantages of a complete victory.

These successes revived, in some measure, the drooping spirits of the house of Bourbon; and, during the campaign, a revolution had happened in the English ministry, still more favourable to the affairs of that family. The causes, circumstances, and consequences of this change, merit our particular attention.

Though the great influence of Marlborough and Godolphin had obliged their mistress to dismiss Harley from her councils, they could not deprive him of that confidence which they themselves had lost, and attempted in vain to recover. He had frequent consultations with the queen in private; and, even while invisible, is said to have embarrassed their measures. These interviews were procured by Mrs. Masham, who had now entirely supplanted the duchess of Marlborough in the queen's favour. But, if the ministry could have retained the good-will of the people, they might have disregarded the private partialities, and in some measure the confidence of their sovereign. The duke of Marlborough had the sole disposal of all the military employments, and the earls of Godolphin and Sunderland of all civil offices. They were in possession of the whole power of the state. And they had long used that power with so much judgement, ability, and effect, as to disarm envy, silence faction, and reconcile to their measures all men who did not labour under the most incurable political prejudices, or feel the severest

“and gave orders for that purpose.” *Notes, No. III. to vol. ii. of the duke's Memoirs.*

pangs of disappointed ambition. The body of the people looked up to them as the worthy followers of king William, our illustrious deliverer from popery and arbitrary power, in the grand line of liberty and national honour⁷: they therefore enjoyed a high degree of popularity.

But popularity, however well founded, is in itself of a slippery nature. The favour of the multitude in every country, but more especially under free governments, can only be retained by something new. They are totally governed by their hopes and fears; and these must not be too long suspended, or too uniformly reiterated, otherwise they will lose their effect. The English populace, during this triumphant period, became satiated even with success. Victory followed victory so fast, and the surrender of one town was so soon succeeded by the reduction of another, that good fortune had ceased to excite joy: and the roaring of cannon and the ringing of bells were heard with indifference. The people began to feel the weight of the taxes levied for the support of the war. And they observed with concern, that in all the negotiations for peace, while liberal concessions were offered to foreign princes and states, no important stipulation appeared in favour of the queen of England; who, after all her waste of blood and treasure, seemed to have only the

⁷ It has been fashionable, of late years, to represent the reign of William as a reign of disgrace; and, in support of that opinion, an address of the house of commons on the meeting of the first parliament of queen Anne is produced, in which the duke of Marlborough is said to have "signally *retrieved* the *ancient* honour " and glory of the English nation." But, independent of the doubtfulness of these expressions, this was the address of a Tory parliament, and framed by men who were no friends to the Revolution. The criminal intrigues connected with that glorious event, and the faults in the administration of William, have not been concealed by the author of these Letters. But even if we admit those charges, as urged by the enemies of that prince, his reign, though not highly fortunate, must be allowed to have been a reign of vigour, of exertion, and a jealous attention to national honour; which can never, perhaps, be purchased at too high a price, and which had been shamefully neglected during the ignominious reigns of his two immediate predecessors.

glory of conquering and giving away cities, provinces, and kingdoms⁸.

The Tories, encouraged by the successful intrigues of Harley, and this change of humour in the people, which they had secretly contributed to produce, began to entertain hopes of once more holding the reins of government. In order to realise these hopes, they attempted to make use of an engine which had often been played off against themselves. As the Whigs, who were now in possession of the administration, could no longer rouse the jealousies and apprehensions of the populace on account of their civil and religious liberties, which were sufficiently secured by the Revolution and the act of settlement, the Tories endeavoured to awaken the same fears, by touching another string. They represented the church and monarchy as in imminent danger, from dissenters and men of leveling principles; under which description they comprehended the whole body of the Whigs.

This inflammatory doctrine had been zealously propagated from the pulpit, by the high-church party, from the beginning of the reign of Anne. The vulgar, as may naturally be supposed, gradually began to give credit to an assertion which was so often and so vehemently urged; for, notwithstanding the formal parliamentary censure of that groundless opinion, it still continued to be propagated. And a champion appeared, who was ready to brave such high authority, and improve on the seditious clamour; and even professed to bring home the charge to the ministry.

This bold son of the church was Dr. Henry Sacheverell; a man of no superior talents, but who, by his violence in railing against the dissenters, occasional conformists, and the Whig party in general, had recommended himself to the Tories and the majority of the established clergy. After having distinguished himself in the

⁸ Publications of the Times.

country by such declamations, he was called, by the voice of the people, to a church in the borough of Southwark, where he had a more public field for propagating his seditious doctrines; and being appointed to preach in St. Paul's cathedral on the 5th of November, 1709, the anniversary of the Gun-powder Plot, he delivered, before the mayor and aldermen of London, a sermon into which he poured the whole collected venom of his heart. He not only inveighed, in the most indecent language, against the dissenters, and the moderate part of the church of England, whom he denominated *false brethren*, but threw out severe and pointed reflections against the principal persons in power, and inculcated, in strong and unequivocal terms, the slavish and exploded doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; animating the people to stand up in defence of the church, which he declared was in imminent danger, and for which, he said, he sounded the trumpet, desiring them to put on the whole armour of God⁹! The majority of the court of aldermen, being attached to the principles of the Revolution, against which these doctrines militated, refused to pay the usual compliment to the preacher, of desiring him to print his sermon, and were even shocked at the violence of the invective. But the lord-mayor, who was a high-church zealot, not only encouraged Sacheverell to publish his discourse, but accepted a dedication still more violent and inflammatory than the performance itself. The merit of both was magnified by the Tories, and forty thousand copies are said to have been circulated in a few weeks¹⁰.

No literary production ever perhaps attracted greater attention than this scurrilous sermon, which had no kind of excellence to recommend it, except what it derived from the spirit of party. It divided the opinions of the nation: and Sacheverell himself, extolled by the Tories

⁹ Burnet, book vii.—See also the Sermon itself among Sacheverell's Discourses.

¹⁰ Burnet, book vii.

as the champion of the church, now on the brink of ruin ! and execrated by the Whigs as an enemy to the Revolution, as an advocate for persecution and despotism, and a devoted friend to the pretender, was thought of sufficient consequence to be made the object of a parliamentary prosecution. That was what he desired above all things, and what the ministry ought studiously to have avoided. But on this occasion, they suffered their passion to overcome their prudence. Godolphin, being personally attacked in the sermon, was highly irritated against the preacher ; and as the offence was not deemed punishable by common law, it was resolved to proceed by impeachment. Sacheverell was accordingly taken into custody, by command of the house of commons : articles were exhibited against him at the bar of the house of lords, and a day was appointed for his trial, which, to complete the folly of this impolitic measure, was ordered to be at Westminster-hall, that the whole body of the commons might be present.

The people frequently err in their judgement, but are generally just in their compassion, though that sentiment is sometimes misplaced. Their compassion was roused for Sacheverell, whom they considered as an innocent victim ; a meritorious individual, doomed to be crushed by the arm of power, for daring to speak the truth. They forgot all his slavish doctrines ; they remembered only his violent declamations, in regard to the danger of the church and monarchy ; and they saw him exposed, as they imagined, to persecution for his honest boldness. They now believed more than they formerly feared. Neglecting their private affairs, and the common avocations of life, their concern was turned wholly toward public welfare. Many, who seldom entered a church, trembled for the safety of the established religion. They wandered about in silent amazement, anxiously gazing on each other, and looking forward to the trial of Sacheverell, as if the fate of the nation or of nature had depended upon the awful decision,

When the day arrived, the populace assembled in vast crowds, and attended the criminal to Westminster-hall. During his whole trial, which lasted three weeks, they continued the same attentions; and in the height of their zeal, they insulted many of the Whigs and dissenters, destroyed several meeting-houses, and committed various outrages. At last Sacheverell was found guilty; but the lenity of his sentence, in consequence of the popular tumults, was considered as a kind of triumph by the Tories. He was only suspended from preaching for three years, without being imprisoned or precluded from preferment; and his sermon was ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The famous decree of the university of Oxford, passed in 1683, recognising the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, was also, by a vote of the lords, ordered to be burned at the same time¹¹.

The mildness of Sacheverell's punishment was justly ascribed by the people to the timidity, not to the moderation of the ministry. Proud of their victory, they expressed their joy by bonfires and illuminations; and, notwithstanding the vote of the peers, addresses were sent from all parts of the kingdom, asserting the absolute power of the crown, and condemning the doctrine of resistance, as the result of anti-monarchical and republican principles. Of these principles the Whigs, as a body, were violently accused by the heads of the Tories, who now monopolised the confidence of their sovereign, and inspired her with jealousies of her principal servants¹².

The queen herself, who had long affected to adopt measures which she was not permitted to guide, was glad of an opportunity of freeing herself from that political captivity to which her too powerful ministers had so long subjected her. She accordingly took advantage of this sudden and extraordinary change in the sentiments of the people, in order to effect a change of her ministry. The duke of

11 *Journals of the Lords*, March, 1710.

12 Burnet, book vii.

Shrewsbury, who had distinguished himself in the cause of Sacheverell, was appointed chamberlain, in the room of the marquis of Kent:—lord Dartmouth was declared secretary of state on the dismissal of the earl of Sunderland: Godolphin received an order to break his staff, as lord-treasurer of Great-Britain: the treasury was put in commission; and Harley, as a prelude to higher promotion, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; while his friend St. John succeeded Mr. Boyle as secretary of state. The duke of Marlborough alone, of the whole party to which he belonged, remained in office: and that mark of distinction he owed to his own high reputation, not to the favour or forbearance of his enemies. Though his fall was already determined on, they were afraid that the temper of the people was not yet sufficiently prepared for the removal of so great a commander¹³.

Marlborough, whose character is one of the most complicated in modern history, appears to have been fully sensible of his own consequence, as well as of the bold schemes of the new ministry. At the same time that he was making professions of attachment to the court of St. Germain¹⁴ (though for what purpose it is impossible to determine), he wrote, in the following strong terms, to the elector of Hanover, with the *interests of whose family*, he said, he considered those of *his country* and of *all Europe* to be *inseparably connected*. “I hope,” adds he, “the English nation will not permit themselves to be imposed upon by the artifices of Harley and his associates. Their conduct leaves no doubt of their design of placing the pretended prince of Wales on the throne. We feel too much already their bad intentions and pernicious views. But I expect to be able to employ all my attention, all my credit, and that of my friends, in order to advance the interests of the electoral family, and to prevent the destructive counsels of a race of men, who establish principles and form cabals, which will otherwise infal-

¹³ Burnet, book vii.—*State of Europe*, 1710. ¹⁴ *Stuart Papers*, 1710.

“libly overturn the Protestant succession, and with it
 “the liberty of their country and the freedom of Eu-
 “rope ¹⁵.”

The new ministry were no less liberal in their declarations of attachment to the house of Hanover; and Harley, who was soon after appointed lord-treasurer, and created earl of Oxford, was perhaps sincere in his professions. Educated in the notions of the presbyterians, to which he still adhered, and perhaps tinctured with republican principles, he had only made use of the high-church party as a ladder to his ambition; and, although a sincere friend to the Protestant succession, he was accused, from this circumstance, of supporting the strictly-hereditary descent of the crown, and abetting all the maxims of arbitrary power ¹⁶.

In consequence of these appearances, the pretender was encouraged to write to his sister, queen Anne. He represented to her the affection that ought to subsist between two persons so nearly related; he recalled to her memory her repeated promises to their common parent;—“To
 “you,” said he, “and to you alone, I wish to owe eventually the throne of my fathers. The voice of God and
 “of nature are loud in your ear! the preservation of our
 “family, the preventing of intestine wars, and the prosperity of our country, combine to require you to rescue
 “me from affliction, and yourself from misery. Though
 “restrained by your difficult situation, I can form no
 “doubt of your preferring a brother, the last male of an
 “antient line, to the remotest relation we have in the
 “world. Neither you nor the nation have received any
 “injury at my hands: therefore, madam, as you tender
 “your honour and happiness—as you love your family—
 “as you revere the memory of your father—as you re-

¹⁵ Original Letters in the *Hanover Papers*, 1710.

¹⁶ *Stuart and Hanover Papers*.—See also Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, and the *Memoirs of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.

“gard the welfare and safety of a great people, I conjure
“you to meet me, in this friendly way of composing our
“difference!—The happiness of both depends upon your
“determination:—you have it in your power to deliver
“me from the reproach that invariably follows unfortunate
“princes, and to render your own memory dear to posterity¹⁷.”

But whatever effect the warm remonstrances of a brother might have on the mind of the queen of England, the solicitations of his agents made no impression on her prime minister. It is even said that Harley had been hitherto ignorant of the sentiments of his mistress, in regard to the succession of the crown. He knew that, with a natural jealousy of her own authority, she was averse to the appearance of the legal successor in the kingdom; but a more intimate acquaintance, if not a more perfect confidence, at length made him sensible, that she wished to leave, at her death, the sceptre in the hands of the pretender¹⁸. He was too far engaged, and too fond of power, to retreat. He hoped, however, instead of injuring the Protestant cause, more effectually to secure, by his eminent station, the succession of the house of Hanover, and with it the religion and liberties of his country. He was, therefore, under the necessity of accommodating himself, in some measure, to the wild projects of the violent Tories, as well as of flattering the queen's affection for her brother, by seeming to second her views in favour of that prince. Hence the great line of his political conduct was in direct contradiction to his private opinions.

In this respect the earl of Oxford was in the same predicament with Godolphin, his predecessor in office; who, though a Tory and a Jacobite, had been obliged, from the circumstances of the times, as we have seen, to place himself at the head of the Whigs, and was considered by the world as the leader of that party. But Oxford, without

¹⁷ *Stuart Papers.*

¹⁸ MS. quoted by Mr. Macpherson.

the strong abilities of Godolphin, who was one of the ablest statesmen of any age or nation, had still greater difficulties and more obstinate prejudices to struggle with. Even while he was using all his efforts against the restoration of the excluded family, and laying himself in the dust at the feet of the legal heirs of the crown, he was supposed, not only by his countrymen, but by the court of Hanover itself, to be a firm friend to the pretender. His professions were considered as only so many baits to deceive; yet did he persevere in his principles, and in his endeavours to defeat all attempts to the prejudice of the Protestant succession!

The new administration, in England, was introduced with a new parliament; the former having been dissolved, in compliance with the warm addresses of the high-church party. In the election of members, unwarrantable methods had been taken to keep out the Whigs; and means still more unjustifiable were pursued for the exclusion of the small number of that party who had found their way into the house of commons. Petitions were presented against most of the members who were supposed to favour the old ministry¹⁹. The Tories, however, though now possessed of a decided majority in the house of commons, and though convinced that peace was equally necessary to the safe enjoyment of their power, and to the execution of those designs which they had formed in favour of the excluded family, durst not yet venture to reveal their sentiments to the nation. The new ministry, therefore, resolved to follow, for a time, their predecessors in the line of hostility. Copious supplies were accordingly voted for the future support of the war, as well as to
A. D. 1711.
make up for the past deficiencies²⁰.

This appearance of vigour left the Whigs no occasion of murmuring at a change of measures. But their com-

¹⁹ Burnet, book vii.

²⁰ *Journals*, 1711. The exact sum, raised and provided for, was 14,573,319*l*. 19*s*. 8*d*.

plaints would have broken out on the first symptom of relaxation; and Harley and the Tories, in pursuing, contrary to their own inclination, the hostile system of the confederates, while jealously watched by their political enemies, would have found themselves involved in insurmountable difficulties and embarrassments. Happily for the English ministry, as well as for the house of Bourbon, an unexpected event gave a new turn to the politics of

April 17. Europe. This was the death of the emperor Joseph, whose reign had been one continued flow of success. He was succeeded, not only in all his hereditary honours and dominions, but also on the imperial throne, by his brother Charles; and as it was contrary to the spirit of the grand alliance, that the same person should possess Spain and the empire, Harley and his associates were no longer afraid to avow their pacific sentiments. The fears of mankind were in a moment changed; the liberties of Europe seemed now to be in greater danger from the power of the house of Austria, than from that of the Bourbon family.

Meanwhile hostilities were carried on in various quarters. Dispositions had been made by the allies, for taking the field early in Flanders; but the rigour of the season, and the unexpected delay of some reinforcements, prevented the duke of Marlborough from forming his army before the latter end of April. His plan was, to open the campaign with the sieges of Arras and Cambray; the reduction of which two important places would have laid Picardy open to the banks of the Somme. And the army originally destined for the service of the confederates would, in all probability, have been sufficient to enable him to accomplish this great scheme. But the death of the emperor, by opening a prospect of peace, obstructed the operations of war. Prince Eugene being obliged to march toward the banks of the Rhine, with the greater part of the German troops, in order to prevent the French and their partisans from taking advantage of that event, by

disturbing the deliberations of the electors assembled at Frankfort, the duke of Marlborough was under the necessity of limiting his views. But his vigour and activity were not diminished. Though his force was now inferior to that of the enemy, he anxiously sought a battle, in hopes of overwhelming his political adversaries, or at least closing his military exploits, with a splendid victory. But the caution of Villars, who was strongly posted near Arleux, deprived the English commander of any opportunity of acquiring this satisfaction. By the most masterly movements, however, Marlborough eluded the vigilance of that able general, and penetrated within the French lines, without the loss of a man. He sat down before Bouchain, in sight of the enemy; and concluded the campaign with the conquest of that strong town ²¹.

Nothing memorable, in the military line, was transacted in Germany: prince Eugene having defeated the hostile designs of the French, the electors proceeded coolly to the choice of a new chief; and the archduke was unanimously raised to the imperial dignity, by the name of Charles VI. On the side of Piedmont, the duke of Berwick, as formerly, defended France with success against the forces of the duke of Savoy. In Spain, the taking of Gerona, by the duke de Noailles, and the raising of the siege of Cardona, by Staremberg, in defiance of a far superior number of troops under Vendome, were the only remarkable events. No action happened at sea, nor any thing worthy of notice, except the failure of an expedition, from Old and New England, against Quebec, the capital of Canada, or New France. This enterprise miscarried, partly from the lateness of the season, and partly from an ignorance of the navigation of the river St. Lawrence, where eight transports, with about eight hundred men, were lost ²².

The general languor of the campaign, together with the

21 Burnet, book vii.—*State of Europe*, 1711.

22 Id. *ibid*.

elevation of the archduke, inspired the British ministry and the house of Bourbon with the most sanguine hopes of peace. They had even negotiated secretly during the summer: and preliminaries were privately signed at London, on the 27th of September, by Menager, the French agent, and St. John, the English secretary. As soon as this insidious transaction, so disgraceful to Great-Britain, was brought to light, all the other members of the confederacy were alarmed. They saw themselves on the point of being deserted by a power, which had been the chief support of the war. And though not altogether unfriendly to peace, they could place no confidence in the negotiations of men who were capable of such disingenuous conduct, whose sole object seemed to be the securing to themselves and their adherents the emoluments of office, by putting a speedy end to hostilities, instead of endeavouring to procure for their country and its allies the fruits of so many glorious victories, acquired at an enormous expense of blood and treasure²³. "That," says M. de Torcy, speaking of the secret proposal of the English ministry to negotiate with France, without the intervention of Holland, "was like asking a sick person, labouring under a long and dangerous illness, if he would be cured!"

The preliminaries, when communicated to the ministers of the confederate princes and states, served only to increase their jealousies and fears. The resignation of Philip was no longer insisted on. This omission particularly offended the emperor: and when the count de Galas, the imperial

23 This accusation is even in some measure admitted by St. John himself, who was deeply concerned in these secret negotiations. "I am afraid," says he, "that the principal spring of our actions was to have the government of the state in our hands; that our principal views were the conservation of this power, great employments to ourselves, and great opportunities of rewarding those who had helped to raise us; to break the body of the Whigs, to render their supports (the Dutch and the other allies) useless to them, and to fill the employments of the kingdom, down to the meanest, with Tories." (*Letter to Sir William Wyndham.*) "Peace," continues he, "had been judged, with reason, to be the only solid foundation whereupon we could erect a Tory system."

ambassador at the court of London, in the heat of his zeal for his master's interest, published a copy of the articles in a news-paper, as an appeal to the public, all England was thrown into a ferment. The people, always jealous of national honour, were filled with indignation at the new ministry, for negotiating secretly with France; a power, whose ambition had so long disquieted her neighbours, and whose humiliation had been the declared object of the grand alliance. They justly suspected the court of sinister designs; especially as the stipulations in the preliminaries fell very considerably below their expectations, after so successful a war. The moderate Tories, ashamed of the meanness, if not the baseness of their leaders, also took part with the offended allies; and the Whigs, while they admitted that the season for treating had arrived, condemned the mode, and attempted to render odious the men by whom the negotiation was conducted ²⁴.

The English ministry, however, were not without their abettors. The pens of the most celebrated writers of the age were employed in vindication of their measures, and to render contemptible their political enemies. Defended by such powerful advocates, and encouraged by the favour of their sovereign, they resolved to support the preliminaries. The queen accordingly intimated to the two houses, that, *notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war*, both time and place were appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace; that she was determined to improve and enlarge, by the advantages to be obtained, the interest of her subjects in trade and commerce; and that she would not only endeavour to procure all reasonable satisfaction to her allies, but to unite them in the strictest engagements, in order to render permanent the public tranquillity. The best way however, she added, to treat of peace with effect, was to make an early provision for carrying on the war; she therefore demanded adequate supplies, and recommended unanimity ²⁵.

²⁴ Publication of the Times.

²⁵ Journals, Dec. 7, 1711.

The supplies were readily granted by the commons, who also echoed back the queen's speech in an affectionate address. The lords were less complaisant. They clogged their address with a clause, "That no peace could be safe or honourable, if Spain and the Indies should be allowed to remain with any branch of the house of Bourbon:" and this addition to the address was carried, by a majority of the house, in spite of all the arguments of the ministry, who opposed it with the whole weight of government. The queen returned an ambiguous answer to an address so subversive of her measures; and as the vote for the obnoxious clause was known to have been procured chiefly by the influence and intrigues of the duke of Marlborough, she saw the necessity of depriving him of his employments, or of dismissing her minister, and stopping the progress of the treaty of peace. Choosing the former part of the alternative, she sent the duke a letter, telling him that she had no farther occasion for his service; and, to secure a majority in the house of lords, twelve gentlemen, devoted to the court, were created peers²⁶.

This was an extraordinary stretch of prerogative, and could not fail to give alarm to the independent part of the nobility, as it was evident that the sovereign, by such an arbitrary exertion of royalty, could at all times over-rule their resolutions. But, as law was on the side of the crown, they were obliged to submit to the indignity. The body of the Whigs were filled with consternation at these bold measures; and as their leaders now despaired of being able to reinstate themselves in the administration by more gentle means, they are said to have planned a new revolution. It is at least certain, that the heads of the party held frequent cabals with the Dutch and imperial ambassadors, as well as with the baron de Bothmar, envoy from the elector of Hanover, who presented, in the name of his master, a strong memorial against the projected peace; declaring,

that the fruits of a glorious war would be lost, if Spain and the Indies should be abandoned to the duke of Anjou. And every method was taken, particularly by the earl of Sunderland and lord Halifax, to impress the people with a belief, not seemingly without reason, that the chief view of the present ministry was the restoration of the excluded family. They therefore affirmed, that the Protestant succession was in danger, and urged the necessity of sending for the elector of Hanover or his son²⁷.

On the other hand, the Tories employed all the force of wit and satire, of which they were in full possession, against their political adversaries; but especially to degrade the character and ridicule the conduct of the duke of Marlborough, whose dismissal from the command of the army, after such extraordinary success, without even an imputation of misbehaviour in his military capacity, they were afraid would rouse the resentment of the nation against the ministry. Their chief accusation against him was, that, in order to favour his own operations in Flanders, to gratify his ambition, and to glut his inordinate avarice, he had starved the war in Spain. Alluding to the strength of the French barrier, they used a vulgar phrase, which made great impression on the people; they said, that to endeavour to subdue France, by attacking her strong towns on the side of Flanders, was "taking the bull by the horns;" that the troops and treasures of the confederates, instead of being employed in expelling Philip from the throne of Spain, had been thrown away on unimportant sieges, and attacks upon almost impregnable lines; that prince Eugene, having profited like Marlborough by these hostilities, had united with him in influencing the councils of the states, through the pensionary Heinsius; and that all three meant nothing, by the indecisive campaigns in the Netherlands, but to *protract* the war, and

²⁷ *Mém. de Torcy*, tome ii. — *Stuart Papers*, 1711, 1712.

perpetuate their own power, which was intimately connected with it²⁸.

But now, my dear Philip, when the prejudices of party have subsided, this accusation appears to have been malicious and unjust. It is generally agreed (while it is admitted that those generals had an interest and a pride in prosecuting the war) that to push France on the side of Flanders, was the most effectual way of depriving the house of Bourbon of the Spanish throne. The distance of the confederates from Spain; its vicinity to France; the necessity of conveying every thing thither by sea; the sterility of the country by reason of the indolence of the inhabitants; and the obstinate aversion of the generality of the Spaniards to a prince supported by heretics, rendered it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impracticable, to conquer that kingdom, as experience had proved after repeated victories. But, as Spain might have been compelled to receive another sovereign without being entirely subdued, the duke of Marlborough took the true method of dethroning Philip.

Though the breaking of the strong barrier of France in the Netherlands had cost the confederates much blood and treasure, as well as time, the work was, at length, nearly completed. Another campaign would probably have enabled them, had they continued united, to penetrate into France, and even to take possession of Paris; so that Louis, in order to save his own kingdom, would have been obliged to relinquish the support of his grandson, and to pull him, in a manner with his own hands, from the Spanish throne. Of this he was as sensible as the duke of Marlborough²⁹; and hence arose his joy at the change of sentiments in the court of England, and the regret of the Whigs at the loss of so glorious an opportunity of advancing the interests of their country,

²⁸ *Parliamentary Debates*, and publications of the times.

²⁹ *Mém. de Torcy*, tome ii.

and of fully gratifying their vengeance against the Gallic tyrant.

It is, indeed, sincerely to be lamented, that such a change should have happened at this critical period. For, however impolitic it might be, in the English ministry, to continue the war, after the year 1706, as it surely was after 1709, when all the objects of the grand alliance might have been obtained, yet as the war was carried on afterward with great spirit, and with a degree of success, which, if foreseen, would perhaps have justified the prosecution of it, no proposals of peace should have been listened to, far less any desire to negotiate *secretly insinuated by a French spy*³⁰, till advantages equivalent to the additional expense had been offered. Since we had committed a *successful folly*, to use the words of lord Bolingbroke, it was folly not to profit by it to the utmost. No stop should have been put to the career of victory, until the house of Bourbon had been completely humbled.

It was on this ground that the Whigs now so violently opposed the peace, and urged the necessity of continuing the war, that they might have an opportunity of recovering the administration, and consequently of wresting the negotiations out of the hands of men, whom they considered as enemies to the Protestant succession, to the liberties of mankind, and to the common cause of the confederates. They admitted, that the elevation of the archduke to the imperial throne had made a material alteration in the political state of Europe; that the power of the house of Austria, which all centred in the person of the emperor Charles, was very great; but they affirmed, at the same time, that it was no sufficient reason for negotiating prematurely with the house of Bourbon, or accepting inadequate terms.

³⁰ Gaultier, who was first employed to signify to the court of Versailles the inclinations of the Tory ministry toward peace, was a Catholic priest, and a spy for France in London.—*Mém. de Tercy*.

England and Holland held the balance; and as they had chiefly contributed toward the success of the war, they had a right to be the arbiters of peace. To preserve the equilibrium of power, and effectually prevent the union of the kingdoms of France and Spain in the person of the same prince at any future time, Spain might be given, it was said, to the duke of Savoy; the most valuable of the Spanish possessions in America, to Great-Britain; and Philip might be gratified with a principality in Italy; after which there would still remain enough to satisfy the emperor and the states, without dismembering the French monarchy³¹. But whether we had left Philip, or placed any other prince on the throne of Spain, we ought to have reduced the power of France to a state of depression from which it would not have recovered for many generations.

While the Whigs were occupied in contemplating those extensive plans of policy, and encouraged in their schemes by the imperial and Dutch ministers, we can scarcely wonder that they embraced rash resolutions, and adopted violent counsels, in order to obstruct the completion of a treaty, which was destined to extinguish all their hopes; to strike the sword of conquest from the hands of the confederates, and the wreath of victory from their brows; to deprive them of an opportunity, that fortune and valour had conspired to produce, and which might never return, of utterly breaking the power of their ambitious enemies, and effectually securing the civil and religious liberties of Europe.

As a last effort to recover their authority, and to prevent the ills they feared, the Whigs invited prince Eugene to London. No less bold and intelligent as a politician, than able and intrepid as a commander, he made no doubt of defeating the projected treaty of peace, by embarrassing the British ministry with splendid offers of advantage, provided the queen would agree to continue the war.

³¹ Publications of the times.

Among other things, he intended to propose, in the name of Charles, that the imperial forces in Spain should be augmented to the number of thirty thousand, and that Great-Britain should be put in full possession of the commerce of that kingdom, and of the Spanish dominions in America³².

But, unfortunately for the Whigs, as well as for the confederates, and for the grandeur and prosperity of the united kingdoms, the duke of Marlborough was dismissed from all his employments before the A. D. 1712. arrival of prince Eugene, and rendered incapable of fully seconding his views. The commons, being chiefly Tories, were firm in their support of the ministry; and the court had obtained a majority in the upper house. That great man was therefore obliged to return to the continent without being able to do any thing for the interest of the allies; though, during his stay in England, it is affirmed that he suggested many desperate expedients, and some violent, and even inhuman measures, for depriving the Tories of the administration³³. But these were all prudently rejected by the Hanoverian resident and the leaders of the Whigs; as an insurrection, or popular tumult, if not finally successful, beside the mischief which it might otherwise have occasioned, might have endangered the Protestant succession. They refused to employ any but legal means.

During those ineffectual intrigues, the English ministry gained a new victory over their political adversaries. Lord Townshend, who had been employed in the negotiations for peace in 1709, had concluded a treaty with

³² *Mém. de Torcy*, tome ii.—*Stuart Papers*, 1713.

³³ He is said to have proposed to set fire to London, in different places, in the night; that, in the midst of the confusion, the duke of Marlborough should appear at the head of a party in arms; that he should first possess himself of the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer, and then seize the person of the queen; force her to dissolve the parliament, to call a new representative body, to make a free inquiry into the clandestine correspondence with France, and to punish the guilty with death.—*Mém. de Torcy*.—*Stuart Papers*.

the states-général, by which Lisle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and several places on the Lys and the Scheld, were guaranteed to the Dutch as a barrier, at the end of the war. And they undertook to guaranty, in return, the *Protestant succession*; to aid with their *fleets* and *armies* the *presumptive heirs* of the *British crown*, whenever *that succession* should appear to be in danger³⁴.

These engagements were perfectly conformable to the declared views of the late ministry, who had ratified the treaty, but utterly inconsistent with those of the present, as well as with their safety. They were not ignorant that the Whigs, and perhaps even the states, pretended that *this* perilous period had already arrived. They were also sensible, that France would with difficulty yield cities and towns that were essential to her own defence; and being determined to remove every obstacle that might retard the peace, they brought the barrier treaty, and all the transactions relative to it, before the house of commons, under pretence that Townshend had exceeded his instructions. The commons, entirely governed by the court, voted that several articles of the treaty were destructive to the interests of Great-Britain; and therefore, that he who negotiated and signed it, having no authority to insert those pernicious stipulations, was an enemy to the queen and the kingdom.

It is not a little surprising, that, while the late ministers were concluding this treaty, which had solely for its object, on the part of Great-Britain, the security of the Hanoverian succession, Marlborough and Godolphin, who directed the measure, were still holding out hopes to the court of St. Germain. Godolphin is said to have regretted his fall, only because it deprived him of the power of serving effectually the excluded family. “Harley, I “hope,” said he, “will restore the king,” for so he called the pretender—“but he will make France neces-

34 *Mém. de Torcy*, tome ii.—Burnet, book vii.

“sary to that measure : I designed to have done the business alone³⁵.”

Marlborough, though perhaps less sincere in his professions, was more liberal in his promises of success. While he lamented, that he was not likely to be employed in concluding the peace, as he might, in that case, he said, do essential service to the *old* cause, he assured the court of St. Germain, that *the eyes of the people* would be *gradually opened*. “They will see their interest,” added he, “in restoring their king. I perceive such a change in his favour, that I think it impossible but he must succeed; but when he shall succeed, let there be no retrospect. All that has been done since the revolution must be confirmed. His business is to gain all, by offending none. As for myself,” continued the duke, “I take God to witness, that what I have done *for many years*,” conscious that his original desertion of his benefactor could not be vindicated, “was neither from spleen to the ROYAL FAMILY, nor from ill-will to their cause, but to humble the power of France; a service as useful to the KING, as it is beneficial to the kingdom³⁶.”

These extracts seem to prove, that, although both the late and the present ministers, the earl of Oxford excepted, intended to call the pretender to the throne, their views in regard to that measure were very different. The former meant to connect it with the aggrandisement of Great-Britain, and the humiliation of France; the latter, to lean upon France for support: and for that support they were willing to sacrifice the honour and interest of the nation, desert the true system of European policy under pretence of œconomy, and sink into that state of abject dependence upon a rival power, which had disgraced the reigns of the second Charles and his brother.

But such observations apart, my dear Philip, the politics of England, during this period, afford an object for phi-

losophic curiosity, to which there is perhaps no parallel in the annals of mankind. That Marlborough and Godolphin, the great leaders of the Whigs, while pursuing with zeal the views of that party, had always in contemplation the re-establishment of the family of Stuart! and that Oxford, the head of the Tories, and a reputed Jacobite, should secure, by his address, the succession of the family of Brunswick, without being able to acquire its confidence, and while he was known to be in his heart a Whig by the queen and the court of St. Germain, whose confidence he was thought to possess, and whose views he was supposed to promote³⁷! are singular circumstances in the history of human nature.

While the English ministers were smoothing at home the road to peace, general conferences were
 January 18. opened at Utrecht, for restoring tranquillity to Europe. And the earl of Strafford and the bishop of Bristol, the plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain, in order to reconcile the confederates to the negotiation, declared that the preliminaries signed by Menager, and accepted by St. John, to which they artfully gave the name of *proposals*, were not obligatory on the queen or her allies³⁸. This declaration composed in some degree the spirits of the confederates. But before any progress could be made in the treaty, certain unexpected incidents gave a new turn to the negotiations, and alarmed Anne and her Tory ministry for the fate of that peace which they had so much at heart.

The dauphin of France, the only legitimate son of Louis, having died in the preceding year, had been succeeded in his title, as heir to the French monarchy, by his eldest son, the duke of Burgundy. That prince also died early in the present year; and, in less than three weeks afterward, his son, the duke of Bretagne. In consequence of this uncommon mortality, which has been ascribed to the ambitious

37 Compare the *Stuart and Hanover Papers*.

38 Burnet, book vii.

intrigues of the duke of Orléans, only the duke of Anjou, the puny offspring of the duke of Burgundy, stood between the king of Spain and the crown of France. The confederates were, therefore, filled with reasonable apprehensions, that the union of the two monarchies, which it had been the chief object of the war to prevent, might at last be effected, after all their successes, and notwithstanding all their disgust and repugnance, by the death of an unhealthy infant, and the lukewarmness, if not treachery, of a principal ally. And the queen of England and her ministers were not a little embarrassed in devising the means of allaying these well-grounded fears.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the British ministry had not hitherto furnished the plenipotentiaries with instructions relative to the Spanish succession³⁹. These were reserved for a confidential envoy, intended to be joined with the two former, and who had been employed in the secret negotiations with France⁴⁰. Though the earl of Strafford and the bishop of Bristol were Tories, and wholly devoted to the court, it was not thought safe to trust them with a matter so injurious to the honour and the interest of their country.

This deceitful mode of proceeding, altogether unworthy of a great nation, which, as it had borne the chief burthen of the war, might openly have dictated the plan of pacification, gave the allies reason to suspect, that the general interests of the confederacy would be sacrificed to the eagerness of Anne for peace, to the selfish motives of her ministers, and her own views in favour of the pretender; that, jealous of the connexion of the confederates with the Whigs and the house of Hanover, she had entered into a private negotiation with Louis; and was even willing, by favourable conditions, to procure support against her former

³⁹ Swift's *Hist. of the last four Years of Queen Anne*.

⁴⁰ Mr. Prior, so well known by his sprightly poems, who had a considerable share in all the negotiations relative to the peace of Utrecht.

friends, from a prince whose power had been so lately broken by her arms, and for whose humiliation she had exhausted the wealth, and watered the earth with the blood of her subjects !

The death of the princes of France, however, by exalting the hopes and increasing the demands of the allies, obliged the queen's counsellors to depart from their resolution of sending a third plenipotentiary to Utrecht (for purposes best known to themselves), and to urge Louis, as he valued the blessing of peace, to take some public step for preventing the crowns of France and Spain from being joined on the head of the same prince. To this end they suggested different schemes, out of which the French monarch might form a proposal that ought to satisfy the allies. The principal of those were, that Philip should either resign the crown of Spain (a measure that would be more acceptable to the confederates than any other), or transfer to his younger brother, the duke of Berry, his right to the crown of France; that, if Philip should consent to the resignation, his right to the crown of France would not only be preserved entire, but in the mean time Naples, Sicily, the hereditary dominions of the house of Savoy, and the duchies of Montferrat and Mantua, should be erected into a kingdom for him; that all those territories should be annexed to France, on Philip's accession to that crown, except the island of Sicily, which should, in such event, be given to the house of Austria; and that Spain and her American dominions should be conferred on the duke of Savoy, in full satisfaction of all his demands, as one of the allies⁴¹.

Philip, as soon as the question was submitted to him, wisely preferred the certain possession of the Spanish throne to the precarious prospect of a more desirable succession, with all the appendages which the confederates

⁴¹ *Mém. de Torcy*, tome ii.

could offer; but the hesitation of Louis, on this occasion, showed evidently he had been flattered by the British ministry with the hope that his grandson should not be obliged to make a solemn renunciation of the crown of France, and yet be permitted to wear that of Spain and the Indies. "A king of France," said he, "succeeds not "as heir, but as master of the kingdom; the sovereignty of "which belongs to him, not by *choice*, but by *birth-right*; "he is obliged, for his crown, to no will of a prior king, "to no compact of the people, but to the *law*; and this "law is esteemed the work of HIM who establishes monarchies. It can neither be invalidated by agreement, "nor rendered void by renunciation: should the king of "Spain, therefore, renounce his right, for the sake of peace, "by that act he would only deceive himself, and disappoint the allies."

Secretary St. John, who corresponded with the court of Versailles on this delicate subject, observed that, though the French nation might consider God alone as having a right to annul the law of succession, yet, in England, most men entertained a different opinion; that even such as were most superstitiously devoted to monarchy, believed that a prince might forego his right by a voluntary renunciation; and that the person, in whose favour the renunciation was made, might be justly supported by the princes who should happen to be guarantees of the treaty. In a word, he declared, that an end must be put to all negotiation, unless the French monarch would accept the expedient proposed. Louis was, at last, under the necessity of complying; and it was agreed, that the renunciation of Philip should be registered in the books of the parliament of Paris, and solemnly received and ratified by the *Cortès* or states of Castile and Arragon⁴².

⁴² *Mém. de Torcy*, ubi sup.—Queen Anne's expressions to her parliament, on this subject, are very forcible. "For confirming the renunciations and settlements "before mentioned," says she, "it is offered that they shall be ratified in the most

As soon as this important article was settled, the queen of England agreed to a suspension of arms; and June 11. the immediate delivery of Dunkirk to the British troops, was the condition of that indulgence. These circumstances naturally lead us to examine the progress of the campaign.

The duke of Ormond being appointed to the command of the British forces in the Netherlands, and of such foreign troops as were in British pay, in the room of the duke of Marlborough, the whole confederate army, nearly amounting to a hundred and twenty thousand men, under prince Eugene, took the field toward the end of April. The French army, commanded by Villars, was strongly posted behind the Scheld. But as the prince found that the enemy had not taken every advantage of their situ-

“ strong and solemn manner, both in France and Spain; and that those kingdoms, “ as well as all the other powers engaged in the present war, shall be guarantees to “ the same. The nature of this article,” adds she, “ is such, that it executes it- “ self. The interest of Spain is to support it: and, in France, the persons to “ whom that succession is to belong, will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right. France and Spain are now more effectually divided than “ ever; and thus, by the blessing of God, will a real balance of power be fixed in “ Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted “ from.” (*Journals*, June 6, 1712.) Unfortunately this has not been the case; for although the monarchies of France and Spain have been hitherto divided, (not by the renunciation of Philip V., but in consequence of the recovery of the young dauphin, afterward Louis XV.) the two courts have, in general, been as intimately united in policy, as if the two crowns had been placed on the head of the same prince; and only the extraordinary exertions of Great-Britain both by land and sea, which seem to have far exceeded all human credibility in vigour, and all political calculation of the expense she could possibly bear, could have thus long preserved the liberties of Europe.

Instead of allowing Philip the alternative of retaining the crown of Spain, the British ministry ought to have insisted on his absolute resignation of that crown, for the eventual succession to the crown of France, with the immediate possession of the kingdom offered to him in Italy; especially as his grandfather (so he himself informs us, in his speech to the *Cortès*) would have agreed more readily to this than to the renunciation of his right to the crown of France, as it afforded a prospect of extending the French monarchy. But that extension, should it even have taken place (as we now certainly know it would not) could not have proved so dangerous to the liberties of Europe, as the *family compact* between the two branches of the house of Bourbon.

ation, he made dispositions for attacking them, in the hope of concluding the war with a splendid victory; or at least of forcing Villars to retire, and leave Cambray exposed to a siege. He accordingly communicated his intentions to the duke of Ormond. And the hesitation of the English general to return a positive answer, confirmed that penetrating genius in the suspicions he had for some time entertained, that the duke had orders not to act offensively⁴³. Filled with indignation at a discovery so fatal to his own glory, as well as to the common cause of the confederates, the prince of Savoy made known his unhappy situation to the Dutch field-deputies, and to the imperial minister at Utrecht. The states immediately sent instructions to their ambassador at the court of London to remonstrate on the subject. And the purport of those instructions was no sooner known, than a motion was made in the house of commons, for presenting an address to her majesty, “that speedy
“orders might be given to her general in Flanders, to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour, in conjunction
“with her allies, as the best means to obtain a safe and
“honourable peace⁴⁴.” A motion to the same effect was made in the house of lords; but the ministry having now a decided majority in both houses, these salutary motions were rejected with some degree of disdain, and the remonstrances of the Dutch ambassador were disregarded. Ormond continued inactive.

Nothing can place the ignominy of this cruel inaction, and the shameful duplicity of the British ministry, in a stronger light, than a letter which the states afterward sent to queen Anne. “It is impossible,” say they, “but we
“should be *surprised* and *afflicted*, by two declarations we
“have lately received from your majesty; the first, by the
“duke of Ormond, your general, that he could *undertake*

⁴³ Burnet, book vii.—*Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.

⁴⁴ *Journals*, May 28, 1712.

“ *nothing without new orders from you ; the other by the,*
“ *bishop of Bristol, your plenipotentiary to the congress*
“ *at Utrecht, that, perceiving we did not answer, as we*
“ *ought, the proposals which you had made to us, and that*
“ *we would not act in concert with your minister on the*
“ *subject of peace, you would take your measures apart ;*
“ *and that you did not look upon yourself to be now under*
“ *any engagements with us.*” In regard to the first, they
add, “ Have we not just reason to be surprised, after the
“ *assurance which your majesty had given us by your*
“ *letters, by your ministers, and lastly, by your general,*
“ *the duke of Ormond, of your intentions that your troops*
“ *should be ordered to act with their usual vigour, when*
“ *we find a stop put by an order in your majesty’s name,*
“ *without our knowledge, and certainly without the know-*
“ *ledge of your other allies, to the operations of the confe-*
“ *derate army?—the finest and strongest, perhaps, which*
“ *has been in the field during the whole course of the*
“ *war ; and this after they had marched, according to*
“ *the resolution taken in concert with your majesty’s general,*
“ *almost up to the enemy, with a great superiority both as*
“ *to number and goodness of troops, and animated with*
“ *a noble courage and zeal to acquit themselves bravely !—*
“ *We are sorry to see so fine an opportunity lost, to the*
“ *extraordinary prejudice of the common cause of the high*
“ *allies.*

“ Nor can we forbear telling your majesty,” they con-
“ tinue, “ that the declaration made by the bishop of Bristol,
“ at Utrecht, has no less surprised us, than that of the
“ duke of Ormond in the army. All the *proposals* hitherto
“ made to us, on the *subject of peace*, were couched in very
“ *general terms*. In some of the last conferences, it is
“ true, your majesty’s ministers desired to know whether
“ ours were furnished with a *full power*, and *authorised* to
“ *draw up a plan for the peace*. But it had been just,
“ before such a thing was demanded of us, that they had

“ *communicated the result of the negotiations so long treated*
 “ *of between your majesty’s ministers and those of the enemy ;*
 “ *or, at least, they should have told us your majesty’s*
 “ *thoughts, on a matter which we ought to have adjusted*
 “ *in concert.* Yet had that plan related only to your ma-
 “ *jesty’s interest and ours, we should perhaps have been*
 “ *in the wrong not to have acceded immediately to it :*
 “ *but as the plan in question concerned the interest of*
 “ *all the allies, and of almost all Europe, we had very*
 “ *strong apprehensions, that the particular negotiations be-*
 “ *tween your majesty’s ministers and those of France, and*
 “ *the readiness with which we consented to the congress at*
 “ *Utrecht, might have given his imperial majesty and the*
 “ *other allies ground to entertain prejudicial thoughts, as*
 “ *if it had been the intention of your majesty and of us,*
 “ *to abandon the grand alliance and the common cause, by*
 “ *which they might have been pushed on to separate mea-*
 “ *sures.* We thought these reasons strong enough to jus-
 “ *tify our conduct to your majesty on this head ; and as we*
 “ *had nowise engaged to enter with your majesty into a*
 “ *concert to draw up a plan of peace, without the participa-*
 “ *tion of the other members of the grand alliance, the back-*
 “ *wardness we have shown to that proposal cannot be con-*
 “ *sidered as a contravention of our engagements ; and,*
 “ *therefore, cannot serve to disengage your majesty from*
 “ *yours, with respect to us. In truth, if for such a cause,*
 “ *between potentates united by the strongest and strictest*
 “ *ties of alliance, interest, and religion, any of those poten-*
 “ *tates could quit their engagements, and disengage them-*
 “ *selves from all their obligations, there is no tie among men*
 “ *that might not be broken, and we know of no engage-*
 “ *ments that could be relied on in time to come*⁴⁵.”

There would certainly have been more *frankness* and *dignity* (though not more *honesty*), and even more *advantage*,

⁴⁵ Printed Letter, preserved in many periodical publications, and particularly in the *Monthly Mercury*, for June, 1712.

in boldly concluding at once a separate treaty with France, than in betraying the common cause by such *double dealing*. This St. John, who was himself deeply concerned in that "double dealing," very candidly acknowledges. France, says he, would have granted more to Great-Britain for peace, than for a suspension of hostilities; and the allies, seeing no possibility of altering the measures of queen Anne, would neither have attempted to disturb her councils in hopes of inducing her to continue the war, nor have prosecuted it themselves with that intemperate ardour which proved the cause of their subsequent misfortunes. "Better conditions would have been obtained for 'the whole confederacy'⁴⁶:" and the British ministry, it may be added, instead of the accumulated infamy of *treachery*, would only have merited the reproach of being guilty of a *flagrant violation of public faith*.

During the altercation and suspense occasioned by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond, prince Eugene laid siege to Quesnoy; and, in order to encourage the confederates, and astonish the enemy, by a bold enterprise, he privately gave orders to major-general Grovestein, to penetrate into France with fifteen hundred horse, dragoons and hussars. This officer passed the Maes, the Moselle, and the Saar; levied contributions as far as the gates of Metz; spread consternation even to Versailles; and after ravaging the country, and carrying off a rich booty, together with a number of hostages, retired leisurely toward Traerbach. Mean-
 July 4, while the siege of Quesnoy was prosecuted with
 N.S. such vigour, that the place was taken almost by assault, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war⁴⁷.

These successes greatly elevated the spirits of the Dutch and Imperialists, depressed by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond; but when, instead of an order to co-operate with them against the common enemy, which they daily expected, he made known to them a cessation of arms between

46 Bolingbroke's *Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*.

47 Burnet, book vii.—*Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.

France and England, their former dejection returned. Their hopes, however, in some measure revived, when they understood that the *foreign troops* in the *pay* of Great-Britain *refused to obey his command*. This refusal reduced the duke to a state of the utmost perplexity, and threw the British ministry into no small consternation. They had not only lost the confidence of the allies, but had fallen under the distrust of the court of Versailles. The king of France therefore thought proper to suspend his mandate for the delivery of Dunkirk, until "*all the troops in the pay of Great-Britain should quit the army of the confederates.*" But, when positive orders were sent to the duke of Ormond, to "*separate the British forces from those of the allies,*" and assurances given to the French monarch, by the express command of Anne, that the confederates should receive no more of her *money*, the scruples of Louis were quieted. The duke fulfilled his instructions by retiring toward Ghent with the British troops, and Dunkirk was delivered to brigadier Hill ⁴⁸.

The British forces had distinguished themselves in a remarkable manner, during the whole course of this celebrated war, and in almost every battle had given the turn to victory. Their example had perhaps been of yet greater service than their efforts, though these were transcendently heroic. Prince Eugene, however, to show the allies that he was still able to pursue his conquests, notwithstanding the withdrawing of so gallant a body of men, formed the siege of Landrecy. Villars received orders to attempt its relief. The French general accordingly put his army in motion, as if he intended to give battle to the main body of the confederates; but, after making a feint of advancing toward their right, he turned suddenly off to the left, and marching all night, attacked unexpectedly a corps of twelve thousand men, stationed at Denain, under the earl of Albemarle, in order to favour the passage

July 24.

⁴⁸ *Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.—De Torcy, tome ii.

of the convoys from Marchiennes. About two thousand five hundred of the earl's men were slain or drowned; and above two thousand, with their commander, fell into the hands of the victors⁴⁹.

Prince Eugene, who was marching to the assistance of Albemarle, had the mortification to arrive, when his aid could be of no use to his friends. In a fit of despair, he ordered the bridges on the Scheld, near Denain, to be attacked, and wantonly threw away the lives of a thousand men; for, even if the bridges had been abandoned to him, he would not have been able to cross the river, in the face of the French army⁵⁰. He failed, however, in the attempt. Yet would he have continued the siege of Landrecy, and might perhaps have become master of the place, notwithstanding this check; but the field-deputies of the states obliged him to relinquish the enterprise, and retire to Mons. Meanwhile Villars, having taken Marchiennes (where valuable stores were deposited), and being now uncontrolled master of the field, reduced successively Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain⁵¹. These conquests closed the operations in the Netherlands; and no enterprise of consequence was undertaken, during the campaign, in any other quarter.

The court of Versailles was highly elated, by a success so unexpected and extraordinary. Nor was the joy of the British ministry, at the change of affairs in Flanders, less sincere, though less public. They were sensible that the body of the confederates, unless lost to all sense of prudence, would no longer attempt to continue the war, should Great-Britain desert the grand alliance; and consequently the Whigs, their political enemies, already humbled, would become still less formidable. In this conjecture they were not deceived. The eyes of the Dutch, who had
A. D. 1713. most to apprehend, were first opened to their

⁴⁹ *Relation*, sent by the earl of Albemarle to the states, and other papers in the *Monthly Mercury* for July, August, and September, 1712.

⁵⁰ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.

⁵¹ *Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.

own perilous situation, and to the necessity of renewing the conferences at Utrecht, which had been for some time interrupted. Instead of prescribing terms to the house of Bourbon, they now acceded to the plan of pacification settled between Great-Britain and France. Their example was followed by the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal. And the emperor, though resolute to continue the war, finding himself unable to support any military operations in Spain, agreed to the evacuation of Catalonia; and, by that measure, indirectly acknowledged the title of Philip⁵².

During these approaches toward a general pacification, Anne was eagerly solicited by the Jacobites to take some step in favour of the pretender. To quiet the fears of the English nation, excited by his connexion with France, he had left St. Germain's in the preceding summer, and now resided at Bar, in the territories of the duke of Lorraine. And although the queen's jealousy of her own authority, and perhaps her natural timidity, heightened by the insinuations of the earl of Oxford, made her decline all proposals for calling her brother into the kingdom, or repealing the act of settlement, she was very anxious to concert with Louis some plan for his accession to the throne after her death⁵³. What measures were taken for that purpose, and how they were frustrated, I shall afterward have occasion to notice. It will, therefore, be sufficient at present to observe, that the earl artfully broke the designs of the queen, and rendered abortive the schemes of the Jacobites, by dividing their councils.

Oxford, however, continued to forward the negotiations for peace, as necessary to the security of his own power, which he hoped to preserve during the life of his mistress; and, as the declining health of the queen gave reason for believing that her death could be no distant event, the

⁵² *Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1713.—Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

⁵³ *Stuart Papers*, 1712, 1713.—Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

lord-treasurer, in secretly supporting the parliamentary settlement of the crown, perhaps flattered himself with the prospect of extending his administration even into the reign of her successor. From these, or similar motives, he defeated the intrigues of the Jacobites, at the same time that he hastened the restoration of tranquillity to Europe. And the treaties between the different powers, so long negotiated, were at last signed at Utrecht, on the 31st day of March, in the year 1713, by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Portugal, Prussia, Savoy, and the United Provinces; the emperor resolving to continue the war, and the king of Spain refusing to sign the stipulations until a principality should be provided, in the Low-Countries, for the princess Ursini, the favourite of his queen⁵⁴.

The chief articles of this memorable pacification were to the following purport. It was stipulated, that, whereas the security and liberties of Europe could by no means bear the union of the crowns of France and Spain under one and the same prince, Philip, now established on the Spanish throne, should renounce all right to the crown of France; that the dukes of Berry and Orléans, the next heirs to the French monarchy after the infant dauphin, should in like manner renounce all right to the crown of Spain, in the event of their accession to the French throne; that, on the death of Philip and in default of his male issue, the succession of Spain and the Indies should be secured to the duke of Savoy; that the island of Sicily should be instantly ceded by his catholic majesty, to the same prince, with the title of king; that France should also cede to him the valleys of Pragelas, Oulx, Sezanne, Bardonnache, and Château-Dauphin, with the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles, and restore to him the duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice; and that the full property and sovereignty of both banks, and the navigation of the Maragnon, or river of Amazons, in South America, should belong to the

54 Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.—*Mém de Noailles*, tome iii.

king of Portugal. It was declared, that the king of Prussia should receive Spanish Guelderland, with the sovereignty of Neufchatel and Valengin, in exchange for the principality of Orange and the lordship of Chalons, and that his regal title should be acknowledged; that the Rhine should form the boundary of the German empire on the side of France; and that all fortifications, beyond that river, claimed by France, or in the possession of his most Christian majesty, should either be relinquished to the emperor or destroyed; that the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish territories on the Tuscan shore, should be ceded to the house of Austria; that the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands should likewise be secured to that family; but that the elector of Bavaria (to whom they had been granted by Philip) should retain such places as were still in his possession, until he should be reinstated in all his German dominions, except the Upper Palatinate, and also be put in possession of the island of Sardinia, with the title of king: that Luxemburg, Namur, and Charleroy, should be given to the states-general, as a barrier, together with Mons, Menin, Tournay, and other places; and that Lisle, Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant, should be restored to France. It was agreed, that the French monarch should acknowledge the title of queen Anne, and the eventual succession of the family of Hanover to the British throne; that the fortifications of Dunkirk (the cause of much jealousy to England, and raised at vast expense to France) should be demolished, and the harbour filled up; that the island of St. Christopher (which had long been possessed jointly by the French and English, but from which the French had been expelled in 1702) should be subject to this country; that Hudson's Bay and Streights (where the French had founded a settlement, but without dispossessing the English, and carried on a rival trade during the war); the town of Placentia, and other districts of the island of Newfoundland

(where the French had been suffered to establish themselves, through the negligence of government); and the long-disputed province of Nova Scotia (into which the French had early intruded, out of which they had been frequently driven, and which had been finally conquered by an army from New England in 1710), should be considered as the dependencies of the British crown; that Minorca and the fortress of Gibraltar (conquered from Spain) should remain in the possession of Great-Britain: and that the Assiento, or contract for furnishing the Spanish colonies in South America with negroes, should belong to the subjects of Great-Britain, for the term of thirty years⁵⁵.

That these conditions, especially on the part of Great-Britain, were very inadequate to the success and expense of the war, will be allowed by every intelligent man, whose understanding is not warped by political prejudices; and the commercial treaty, which was concluded at the same time between France and England, was evidently to the disadvantage of the latter kingdom. The other confederates had greater cause to be satisfied, and the emperor as much as any of them: yet was he obstinate in refusing to sign the general pacification, though two months were allowed him to deliberate on the terms. But he had soon reason to repent his rashness in resolving to continue the war alone; for, although he had prudently agreed to a treaty with the Hungarian mal-contents, in consequence of which twenty-two regiments of his rebel subjects entered into his service, the imperial army on the Rhine, commanded by prince Eugene, was not in a condition to face the French under Villars, who successively took Worms, Spire, Kaiserslautern, and the important fortress of Landau. He forced the passage of the Rhine; attacked

⁵⁵ Printed Treaties, in the *Monthly Mercury*, Tindal's *Contin.* of Rapin, &c. The *Assiento*, which led to a lucrative contraband trade to the Spanish Main, proved the most advantageous article for Great-Britain. It was, however, no sacrifice on the part of Spain, the same privilege having been formerly enjoyed by France.

and defeated general Vaubonne in his entrenchments, and reduced Freyburg, the capital of Brigsaw⁵⁶.

Unwilling to prosecute a disastrous war, the emperor began seriously to think of peace; and A. D. 1714. conférences, which afterward terminated in a pacific treaty, were opened, between prince Eugène and Villars, at Rastadt. The terms of this treaty, concluded on the 6th of March (N. S.) were less favourable to the emperor than those which had been offered at Utrecht. The king of France retained Landau, which he had before proposed to cede, with several fortresses beyond the Rhine, which he had agreed to demolish. He procured the full re-establishment of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne in their dominions and dignities; the former prince consenting to relinquish Sardinia to the emperor, in return for the Upper Palatinate, and the king agreeing to acknowledge the electoral dignity of the duke of Hanover⁵⁷. The principal articles, in regard to Italy and the Low-Countries, were the same with those settled at Utrecht.

Relaxing in his obstinacy, the king of Spain also acceded to the general pacification; being persuaded by his grandfather to forego his absurd demand in favour of the princess Ursini. But Philip, although now freed from all apprehensions of the enmity of the allies, was by no means in quiet possession of his kingdom. The Catalans were still in arms, and the inhabitants of Barcelona were determined to defend themselves to extremity; not, however, as has been represented by some historians, from any romantic idea of establishing an independent republic, but with a view of preserving their lives and their civil rights, all who had revolted being threatened with the justice of the sword. Had the court of Madrid used the language of moderation and clemency, Barcelona would have capitulated immediately after the departure of the Imperialists.

⁵⁶ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xxii.—*State of Europe*, 1713.

⁵⁷ Printed Treaty in the *Monthly Mercury*, &c.

But as nothing was talked of by the Spanish ministers and generals but severe retribution, the people became furious and desperate⁵⁸.

Extraordinary preparations were made for the reduction of this important place. And the duke of Berwick, being a third time invested with the chief command in Spain, sat down before it with an army composed of fifty battalions of French, and twenty of Spanish foot, strengthened by fifty-one squadrons of horse; while another army, divided into different bodies, kept the country in awe, and a French and Spanish fleet cut off all communication with the town by sea. He had eighty-seven pieces of heavy cannon, fifteen hundred thousand pounds of powder, and every thing else in profusion, that could tend to facilitate a siege. The garrison consisted of sixteen thousand men, and the fortifications were formidable, especially on the side toward the land. The duke made his attack on the side nearest to the sea, where the operations were more easy, by reason of certain eminences, behind which several battalions might be placed under cover; and where the curtains of the bastions, being considerably elevated, offered a fair mark for the cannon of the besiegers⁵⁹.

After the trenches had been opened about a month, a breach was made in the bastion of St. Clara, and a lodgement effected; but the assailants were suddenly driven from their post, with the death or wounds of a thousand men. This misfortune, and the vigorous resistance of the besieged, determined the duke to hazard no more partial attacks. He resolved to lay the front of the place so completely level, that he might enter it, as it were, in line of battle. And he accomplished his purpose, by patience and perseverance. But before he ordered the general assault, he summoned the town to surrender. So great, however, was the obstinacy of the citizens, that although their provisions

58 Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

59 Id. *ibid*.

were almost exhausted, though seven breaches had been made in the body of the place, and no probability remained of their receiving aid or supply, they hung out a flag of defiance, and refused to listen to any terms of capitulation!—The assault was made and repelled with fury. At length, after struggling from day-break till three in the afternoon, and being driven from most of the works, the inhabitants demanded a parley. It was granted to them. But they could obtain no conditions, except a promise that their lives should be safe, and that the town should not be plundered. That promise was religiously observed by the duke, who had lost above eight thousand men during the siege, while the citizens lost about five thousand. All Catalonia submitted; and the Catalans were disarmed, and deprived of their ancient privileges⁶⁰.

This, my dear Philip, to use the language of an elegant historian, was the last flame of that great fire, kindled by the will of Charles II. of Spain, which had so long laid waste the finest countries in Europe⁶¹. I ought now to carry forward the adventures of Charles XII. and the affairs of the North; but perspicuity requires, that I should first elucidate those intrigues, which we have seen gathering in the court of England.

LETTER XXIV.

History of Great-Britain, from the Peace of Utrecht, to the Suppression of the Rebellion, in 1715, with some Account of the Affairs of France, and the Intrigues of the Court of St. Germain.

THE peace of Utrecht, though in itself an unpopular measure, afforded the English ministry a momentary tri-

⁶⁰ Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

⁶¹ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xxii.

umph over their political adversaries, and highly A. D. 1713. raised the hopes of the Jacobites, who flattered themselves, that the restoration of general tranquillity would enable the queen to take some effectual step in favour of the pretender, whose interests she seemed now to have sincerely at heart. But it will be necessary, the better to illustrate this subject, to go a few years back, and collect such particulars relative to the court of St. Germain, as could not readily enter into the general narration.

In the beginning of the year 1711, the abbé Gaultier, who was employed in the secret negotiations between France and England, waited upon the duke of Berwick, at St. Germain's, with proposals from the earl of Oxford, for the restoration of the pretender. These proposals were in substance, that, provided queen Anne should be permitted to enjoy the crown in tranquillity during her life, she would secure to her brother the possession of it, after her death; and that sufficient stipulations should be signed, on his side, for the preservation of the church of England and the liberties of the kingdom¹. "These preliminaries "being settled," says the duke of Berwick, who conducted the affairs of the pretender, "we consulted on the "means of executing the business; but the abbé could "not, at that time, enter into any particulars, as the lord- "treasurer had not yet fully explained to him his intentions." It was necessary, the earl said, that the peace should be concluded before the English ministry could venture upon so delicate a measure².

Meanwhile such of the Jacobites as were nearest to the

¹ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.

² *Id. ibid.* "Though it appeared to me," adds the duke of Berwick, "that one "of these points was no hinderance to the other; yet, in order to show that we "would omit nothing to promote the interest of the pretender, and to give proofs "of our sincerity, we wrote to all the Jacobites to join with the court. And their "influence contributed greatly to make the queen's party so superior in the house "of commons, that every thing was carried there according to her wishes." This information is confirmed by the *Stuart and Hanover Papers*.

person of the queen, perceiving her inclinations, urged her perpetually to concert some plan for the restoration of the pretender. Sincere in her attachment to the church of England, she signified her desire that he should abjure popery, and place himself in a capacity of being *served*. But, finding him obstinate, she replied, when urged by the duke of Buckingham to alter the succession in his favour, “How
“can I serve him? He takes not the least step to oblige
“me, in what I most desire. You know a papist cannot
“enjoy this crown in peace. But the example of the fa-
“ther has no weight with the son; he prefers his religious
“errors to the throne of a great kingdom. How, there-
“fore, can I undo what I have already done? He may
“thank himself for his exclusion. He knows I love my
“own family better than any other. All would be easy
“if he would enter the pale of the church of England.
“Advise him to change his religion; as that only can turn
“the opinion of the people in his favour³.”

The duke of Buckingham conveyed this answer to the court of St. Germain; and, at the same time, seconded the request of the queen. But his arguments were all lost on the pretender, who was a zealous Catholic, and made a matter of conscience in adhering to his religion, in defiance of all prudential considerations⁴; an irrefragable proof of the most incurable and dangerous weakness in a prince, however commendable in a private person. For, as a sensible writer observes, if a king is not willing to go to heaven in the same way with his people, they will scarcely acknowledge the legality of his authority on earth⁵. And a man who could relinquish his hopes of a great kingdom, for a speculative point of faith, manifested a spirit of bigotry, that would have sacrificed all civil engagements to the propagation of that faith. He was not fit to be trusted with power.

³ *Stuart Papers*, 1712.

⁴ *Id. ibid.*

⁵ Macpherson's *Hist. Brit.* vol. ii.

The majority of the Tories, however, in their vehement zeal for the hereditary descent of the crown, overlooked the danger of the pretender's attachment to the Romish religion; and assured him, that, if he would only *conform*, in *appearance*, to the church of England, without the formality of a public recantation of Popery, they would endeavour to procure the *immediate* repeal of the act of settlement⁶. But the earl of Oxford, who never lost sight of the Protestant succession, or the security of his own power, intimated to the duke of Berwick, by the abbé Gaultier, on his return to France in 1712, that the pretender must still have patience; that the least hint of the queen's intentions in favour of her brother would give the Whigs occasion to exclaim loudly against the court, and might not only destroy the necessary business of the peace, but perhaps lead to a change in the ministry, and even a revolution in the state; that it was beside necessary to make sure of the army, the requisite steps for which could not be taken till after the peace should have been signed, when it would be reduced, and such officers only retained as could be depended on⁷.

The plausibility of these arguments quieted, for a time, the Jacobites and the court of St. Germain. But when the peace was concluded, and the army reduced, yet no effectual step taken in favour of the pretender, his own uneasiness and the anxiety of his partisans began to return. They pressed the earl to fulfil his engagements; representing to him, that, as there never could be a house of commons better disposed to second the views of the queen, he had only to propose the repeal of the act of settlement, and it would immediately be voted. It was necessary, he replied, to proceed more gently in the business; but that they might make themselves easy, as he was seriously at work in the cause. "In this manner," says the duke of Berwick, "did the lord-treasurer amuse us; and it was

6 *Stuart Papers*, 1712.

7 Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

“ difficult to prevent his doing so. To have broken with
“ him, would have proved the utter ruin of our affairs, as
“ he had the administration of England in his hands, and
“ entirely governed queen Anne. We were, therefore,
“ forced to *pretend* to trust him; but we neglected not,
“ at the same time, privately to concert measures with the
“ duke of Ormond, and other well-affected persons, that
“ we might be able to bring about the restoration of the
“ pretender, if Oxford should fail us⁸.”

The English minister stood on such dangerous ground, that he durst not undertake any bold measure, whatever might be his inclinations. Equally distrusted both by Whigs and Tories, he was destitute of friends: his whole security consisted in the jealousy of the two parties, and his whole business was to balance them. In order to silence the clamours of the Whigs, he prevailed upon the queen to declare, in her speech to the parliament, without regard to her own inclinations or the dictates of truth, that a perfect friendship subsisted between her and the house of Hanover, at the same time that she mentioned what she had done for securing the Protestant succession⁹. This declaration had the desired effect. But the earl was less successful in other measures.

The peace was generally disliked by the people; and all impartial men reprobated the treaty of commerce with France. The eighth and ninth articles, importing, “ That
“ Great Britain and France should enjoy all the privileges
“ in trading with each other, which either granted to the
“ most favoured nation; that all prohibitions should be
“ removed, and no higher duties imposed on the French
“ commodities than on those of any other people,” were particularly opposed. When a bill was introduced for confirming the articles, it was urged, that our trade with Portugal, the most beneficial of any, would be lost, should the duties on French and Portuguese wines be made equal, the freight from Portugal being higher, and the French

8 Duke of Eerwick, vol. ii.

9 Journals, April 9, 1713.

wines more generally agreeable to the taste of the English nation; and if we did not consume the wines of Portugal, it was unreasonable to think that the Portuguese would continue to purchase our manufactures, in balance for which we received, in bullion or specie, near a million sterling annually; that we could expect from France no equivalent for this loss, as the French had established woollen manufactures, sufficient not only to supply themselves, but even to rival us in foreign markets; that our silk manufacture, which employed a considerable number of people, and saved a vast sum annually to the nation, would be ruined, should a free importation of silk stuffs from France be permitted; that our trade to Italy and Turkey, where we disposed of great quantities of woollen goods in exchange for the raw material of this manufacture, would be in a manner annihilated; and the ruin of our manufactures of linen and paper would also be the consequence of a free importation of those articles from France, as the cheapness of labour and provisions in that kingdom would enable the French to undersell us, even in our own markets¹⁰. These, and similar arguments, induced the more moderate Tories to join the Whigs, and the bill was rejected by a majority of nine votes.

Encouraged by this success, and justly alarmed for the safety of the Protestant succession, the Whigs endeavoured to awaken the fears of the people, by several virulent speeches in parliament, against the pretender, at the same time that they solicited the elector of Hanover to come over in person, or send his son to England. Both these proposals the elector very prudently rejected. But, in order to gratify, in some degree, the ardour of his partisans, embarrass the British ministry, and intimidate Anne, he allowed Schutz, his envoy at the court of London, to demand a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the
A.D. 1714. house of peers, as duke of Cambridge. The earl of Oxford and his associates were filled with consternation

¹⁰ *Parl. Debates*, 1713.—Burnet, book vii.

at a request so unexpected; and the queen was agitated with all the violence of passion. Her resentment was increased by the exultation of the Whigs. Seeming to derive vigour from her very terror, she declared, that she would sooner suffer the loss of her crown, than permit any prince of the house of Hanover to reside in Britain during her life. And Schütz was forbidden to appear again at court, under pretence that he had exceeded his instructions¹¹.

Whether the elector had any serious intention of sending his son to England may be questioned, though he represented, in a memorial to Anne, "that for the security of her royal person, her kingdoms, and the protestant religion, it seemed necessary to settle in Britain some prince of the electoral family¹²;" but it is certain that the Jacobites had formed a design of bringing over the pretender, and that he himself and his adherents entertained the most sanguine expectations of his speedy exaltation to the throne. These expectations were heightened by the *promised* regulation of the army. The duke of Argyle, the earl of Stair, and other officers of distinction, whom the Jacobites and more violent Tories considered as inclined to support the act of settlement, were removed from their military employments; and the command of the whole regular force of the realm was entrusted to the duke of Ormond and his creatures, who were known to be well affected to the excluded family.

This measure, however, of which St. John, now created viscount Bolingbroke (not the earl of Oxford) was the author, is said to have been dictated by a jealousy of the ambitious designs of the Whigs and the house of Hanover (who are accused of having formed a scheme for seizing the reins of government) rather than by any attachment to the interests of the pretender. Be that as it may, we know that a measure, fatal to the pretender's views, was adopted by the British ministry, in order to quiet the fears of the elector, and to engage him to keep his son at home;

11 *Hanover Papers*, April, 1714.

12 *Hanover Papers*, May, 1714.

queen Anne's fears from the family of Hanover being ultimately more than a balance for her affection for her own.

Information having been obtained, by the vigilance of the earl of Wharton, that certain Irish officers were enlisting men for the pretender, they were taken into custody. The people were alarmed, and the Whigs artfully added to their fears. The lord-treasurer, in concert with that party, wrought so much on the natural timidity of the duke of Shrewsbury, that he joined him on this occasion; and, through their combined influence, the majority of the cabinet-council agreed to issue a proclamation, promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the pretender, if he should land in Britain. The two houses of parliament voted an address of thanks to the queen for her attention to the religion and liberties of the kingdom; and the commons, in their zeal for the protestant succession, extended the reward for apprehending the pretender to one hundred thousand pounds¹³.

That prince, however, persuaded that the queen and the chief nobility and gentry, whatever steps they might take to quiet the populace, were sincerely in his interest, did not yet despair of being able to ascend the throne of his ancestors:—and the prospect of a change in the ministry inspired him with new hopes. Bolingbroke, by flattering the prejudices of his mistress, had gradually supplanted the earl of Oxford in her confidence. He represented to her the languor of that minister's measures: he gave insinuations concerning his secret intrigues with the Whigs; and he suggested to her, that to pay any attention, in future, to the house of Hanover, was incompatible with her service¹⁴. Similar representations were made by the duke of Ormond, and other Jacobites, whom the duke of Berwick eagerly solicited to procure the removal of the lord-treasurer, as a necessary prelude to the accomplishment of the queen's designs in

¹³ *Journals*, June 24, 1714.—*Hanover and Stuart Papers*.

¹⁴ *Hanover Papers*, July 20, 1714.

favour of her brother¹⁶. The earl was accordingly deprived of his office. But the queen's death, which happened only five days after, and before the new administration was properly formed, left the succession open to the elector of Hanover, and disappointed the hopes of the pretender and his adherents. August 1.

The character of this princess, who died in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign, is neither striking nor complicated. Though not altogether destitute of female accomplishments, she had nothing captivating, as a woman, either in her manner or person: she could only be reputed sensible and agreeable. Her failure of duty as a daughter excepted, her conduct in private life appears to have been highly exemplary. She was an affectionate wife, a tender mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent mistress. As a sovereign, notwithstanding the

16 *Memoirs of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.—The plan which the duke had formed for the accomplishment of these designs, and which he commissioned Gaultier to lay before the earl of Oxford, was, that the pretender should go privately over to the queen his sister, who should immediately assemble the two houses of parliament, and explain her brother's incontestable right, and the resolution she had taken to restore what belonged to him, by all laws divine and human; that she should, at the same time, assure them that she would pass such acts as might be thought necessary for the security of their religion and liberty; that she then should introduce the pretender in full parliament, and say, "Here he is, my lords and gentlemen, ready to promise religiously to keep all I have engaged for him, and to swear to the observance of every article; I therefore desire you instantly to repeal all the acts passed against him, and to acknowledge him as my heir and your future sovereign, that he may owe you some good-will for having concurred with me, in what your conscience, your duty, and your honour, should have prompted you before this time to propose."

Such an unexpected step, though somewhat romantic at first sight, the duke imagined would so much have astonished the factious, and delighted the well-affected, that there would not have been the least opposition to the queen's demands, as no person could have doubted of her having taken effectual measures to secure obedience. But, as the earl returned no answer to this proposal, the duke justly concluded, that the lord-treasurer's only motive, in all the advances he had hitherto made to the court of St. Germain, had been his own interest, in endeavouring to join the Jacobites with the Tories, and by such means to secure a majority in parliament in favour of the peace; and that, as soon as the treaty was concluded, he thought of nothing but to be upon good terms with the Whigs. and the house of Hanover.

illustrious events of her reign, she is entitled to little praise: she did not possess vigour of mind, splendid talents, or a deep penetration into human affairs. A prey to the most enslaving timidity, and continually governed by favourites, she can hardly be said to have ever thought for herself, or to have acted according to her own inclinations. But, as her popularity concealed the weakness of her personal authority, the great abilities of her principal servants, to whom she owed that popularity, threw a splendid veil over her feeble qualities.

During an interval of her illness, which was of the lethargic kind, and was brought on by violent agitation of mind, on account of the critical state of her affairs, she delivered the treasurer's staff to the duke of Shrewsbury. That nobleman was attached to the excluded family; but his caution had hitherto made him temporise, and it was now too late to take any effectual step in favour of the pretender. The Whigs were highly elated at the near prospect of an event, which they flattered themselves would not only dispel all their fears, in regard to the Protestant succession, but prove alike friendly to their power and to their principles. The Tories were depressed in an equal degree; and the Jacobites were disconcerted, their projects being yet in embryo. Animated with the ardour of their party, and perhaps by a zeal for the welfare of their country, the dukes of Somerset and Argyle boldly entered the council-chamber, without being summoned. Though their presence was unacceptable, and so unexpected, that their appearance filled the council with consternation, they were desired by the timid Shrewsbury to take their places, and thanked for their readiness to give their assistance at such a crisis. Other Whig members joined them; and a multitude of the nobility and gentry being assembled, as soon as the queen expired, orders were given, in compliance with the act of settlement, to proclaim George Louis, elector of Hanover, king of Great-Britain. A

regency was appointed according to his nomination; his title was acknowledged by foreign princes and states; and all things continued quiet in England until his arrival¹⁷.

George I. ascended the throne of Great-Britain in the fifty-fifth year of his age; and the same prudence, which had distinguished him in his negotiations with the British court, was conspicuous throughout his reign. Reprobating the ungenerous and impolitic maxim, too frequently embraced by the princes of the house of Stuart, of trusting to the attachment of their friends, without rewarding them, and attempting, by favours, to make friends of their enemies, he made it a rule never to forget his friends, and to set his enemies at defiance. Conformably to this mode of thinking, which he perhaps carried to excess, he placed not only the administration, but all the considerable employments of the kingdom, both civil and military, in the hands of the Whigs. The treasury and admiralty were put in commission; the command of the army was taken from the duke of Ormond, and restored to the duke of Marlborough; the duke of Argyle was made commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland; the great seal was given to lord Cowper, the privy seal to the earl of Wharton, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. Lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state; the duke of Somerset was declared master of the horse, Mr. Pulteney secretary at war, and Mr. Walpole paymaster-general. A new parliament was called, in which the interest of the Whigs predominated; and a secret committee, chosen by ballot, was appointed to examine all the papers and inquire into all the negotiations relative to the late peace, as well as to the cessation of arms by which it was preceded. This committee prosecuted its inquiries with the greatest eagerness; and, in consequence of its report, the commons re-

A. D. 1715.

¹⁷ *Monthly Mercury* for August, 1714.

solved to impeach lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Oxford, and the duke of Ormond, of high treason. The grounds of these impeachments were, the share which Oxford and Bolingbroke had in the clandestine negotiations with France, and Ormond's acting in concert with Villars, after the suspension of arms¹⁸. More timid, or conscious of superior guilt, Bolingbroke and Ormond made their escape to the continent, while Oxford continued to attend his duty in parliament, and was committed to the Tower. His behaviour, throughout the prosecution, was firm and manly. When impeached by the commons at the bar of the house of lords, all the arguments of his friends being found insufficient to acquit him, he spoke to the following purport: "The whole charge against me may be reduced to the negotiating and concluding the peace of Utrecht: and that peace, bad as it is represented, has been approved by two successive parliaments. As I always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the queen, my mistress, and never offended against any known law, I am justified in my conscience, and unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man; but I cannot remain unconcerned, without the highest ingratitude, for the reputation of the best of queens. Gratitude binds me to vindicate her memory.—My lords," added he, "if ministers of state, acting by the immediate command of their sovereign, are afterward to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may, one day or other, be the case of every member of this august assembly. I do not doubt, therefore, that, out of regard to yourselves, your lordships will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope that, in the prosecution of this inquiry, it will appear I have *merited* not only the *indulgence*, but the favour of the *present government*¹⁹." The new ministers seem at last to have been sensible of the truth

¹⁸ *Report of the Committee of Secrecy.*

¹⁹ *Parl. Hist.* 1715.

of this assertion; for the earl, when brought to his trial, after remaining near two years in prison, was dismissed for want of accusers, the commons not choosing to appear against him.

To these prosecutions, which have been represented as vindictive, and the partiality of the king to the Whigs, the rebellion that disturbed the beginning of this reign has been ascribed; but very unjustly. The prosecutions were necessary, in order to free the nation from the imputation of having connived at a shameful breach of public faith: and if George I. had not thrown himself into the hands of the Whigs, he must soon have returned to Hanover. Of all the parties in the kingdom, they only were sincerely attached to his cause, or could now be said firmly to adhere to the principles of the Revolution. The moderate Tories might perhaps have been gained; but the animosity, between that party and the Whigs, was yet too keen to admit a coalition. Beside, such a coalition, though it might have quieted, in appearance, some factious leaders, and produced a momentary calm, would have been dangerous to the established government.

The Tories were in general inclined to Jacobitism. The heads of the faction, both in England and Scotland, held a secret correspondence with the pretender; and, although no regular concert had been formed, a tendency toward an insurrection appeared among them, from one end of the island to the other, and the most artful means were employed to inflame the body of the people, as well as to secure particular adherents. The disbanded officers were gained by money²⁰; scandalous libels were published against the electoral family; the pretender's manifestoes were every where dispersed; all the Whigs were brought under the description of dissenters, and the cry of the danger of the church was revived.

²⁰ Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

During these discontents and cabals, which were chiefly occasioned by the disappointment of the Jacobites and violent Tories, in consequence of the premature death of queen Anne, only the zeal and loyalty of the Whigs could have supported king George upon the throne of Great-Britain; and the arrival of a small body of foreign soldiers might have made the contest doubtful between the house of Stuart and that of Hanover. Such a body of auxiliaries the duke of Ormond, and other zealous Jacobites in England, eagerly solicited from the pretender, as necessary to render their designs in his favour successful.

Convinced of the reasonableness of this demand, the duke of Berwick used all his influence, but in vain, to procure a few regiments from the court of Versailles. Louis, broken by years and infirmities, and standing on the verge of the grave, was unwilling to engage in a new war, or hazard any measure that might disturb the minority of his great-grandson. He therefore declined taking openly any part in the affairs of the pretender: and the vigilance of the earl of Stair, the British ambassador in France, effectually prevented any secret aids from operating to the disadvantage of his master.

The pretender, however, had still hopes of being able to ascend the throne of his ancestors, by means of his English adherents, and the assistance of the Scottish Jacobites, who had already provided themselves with arms, and were ready to rise at his command. His brother the duke of Berwick, and the fugitive lord Bolingbroke, to whom he had delivered the seals, as secretary of state, were less sanguine in their expectations; yet they flattered themselves, that some bold step would be taken, which might encourage the court of France to interpose in his favour. But the misconduct of the duke of Ormond disappointed these hopes.

This nobleman, after his impeachment, had retired to

his house at Richmond, where he lived in great state, and was surrounded by the whole body of the Tories, of which he was supposed to be the head. He seemed to have set up the standard against his sovereign. And he assured the pretender, he would hold his station as long as possible; and, when he could maintain it no longer, that he would retire to the North or West of England (where he had many friends, among whom he had distributed a number of reduced officers), and in one of those quarters begin an insurrection. He had even settled a relay of horses, in order to proceed with greater expedition when the dangerous moment should arrive. But the duke, though personally brave, was destitute of that vigour of spirit, which is necessary for the execution of such an undertaking. When informed that a party of the guards had orders to surround his house and seize his person, he lost all presence of mind, and hastily made his escape to France; without leaving any instructions for his friends, who were waiting for an order to take up arms, and eager to act under his command ²¹.

The unexpected flight of Ormond gave a fatal wound to the cause of the pretender. It not only disconcerted the plans of his English adherents, but confirmed the court of Versailles in the resolution of yielding him no open assistance. If a man, on whose credit the highest hopes of the Jacobites rested, was under the necessity of abandoning his country, without being able to strike a blow, the French ministry very reasonably concluded, that the Tories could not be so powerful, or so ripe for an insurrection, as they had been represented.

The death of Louis, which happened soon after, Sept. 1, farther embarrassed the pretender's affairs. "No N. S. prince," says the duke of Berwick, "was ever so little known as this monarch. He has been represented as a

“man not only cruel and false, but difficult of access. I
“have frequently had the honour of audiences from him,
“and have been very familiarly admitted to his presence;
“and I can affirm, that his *pride* was only in *appearance*.
“He was born with an *air of majesty*, which struck every
“one so much, that nobody could approach him without
“being seised with awe and respect; but, as soon as you
“spoke to him, he softened his countenance, and put you
“quite at ease. He was the most polite man in his king-
“dom: and his answers were accompanied with so many
“obliging expressions, that, if he granted your request,
“the obligation was doubled by the manner of conferring
“it; and, if he refused, you could not complain.” It was
that air of majesty, mentioned by the duke, which so dis-
concerted the old officer, who came to ask a favour of Louis,
that he could only say, in a faltering voice, “I hope your
“majesty will believe I do not thus tremble before your
“enemies!” The character of this prince I have already
had occasion to draw, and to exhibit in various lights.

The duke of Orléans, who was appointed, by the parlia-
ment of Paris, regent during the minority of Louis XV.,
in contradiction to the will of the deceased monarch, af-
fected privately to espouse the interests of the house of
Stuart; but the exhausted state of France, and the difficulty
of maintaining his own authority against the other princes
of the blood, induced him publicly to cultivate a good un-
derstanding with the court of Great-Britain, and even to
take, though with seeming reluctance, all the steps pointed
out by the earl of Stair, for defeating the designs of the
Jacobites. Of those measures, the most important was the
stopping of some ships laden with arms and ammunition;
an irreparable loss to the pretender, as he could neither
procure money, nor permission to purchase a fresh quan-
tity of such articles in any other country²².

Notwithstanding these discouragements, the indigent representative of the unfortunate family of Stuart did not relinquish his hopes of a crown : nor did his partisans, either in England or Scotland, abate of their ardour in his cause. But ardour, unless governed by prudence, is a wild energy, that often brings ruin on the party it was intended to serve. It required all the cool experience of the duke of Berwick, and the great talents of lord Bolingbroke, to moderate the zeal of the English and Scottish Jacobites. The Highlanders were eager to take arms : they had entered into a regular concert for that purpose : they knew their force ; and, confident of success, they entreated the pretender to place himself at their head, or at least to permit them to rise in vindication of his just rights. Some account must here be given of this singular race of men.

The Highlanders are the reputed descendants of the original Celtic inhabitants of North Britain, and value themselves on having had the rare fortune of never being subjected to the law of any conqueror. From the victorious arms of the Romans they took refuge in their rugged mountains, and there continued to enjoy their independence, while that ambitious people remained masters of the southern parts of this island. Nor has the sword of Dane, of Saxon, or of Norman, ever reduced them to submission.

But, although independent, the Highlanders were by no means free. Divided into a variety of clans or tribes, under chiefs who exercised an arbitrary jurisdiction over them, the body of the people were in a great measure slaves to the will of petty tyrants. And from that law of will, which it was the common interest and the pride of all the heads of clans to support, there lay no appeal ; for, although the Highland chiefs acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Scotland, and held themselves bound to assist him in his wars, they admitted not his control in their private concerns ; in their treatment of their own vassals, or in their disputes with hostile clans. His mediation was

all he could presume to offer. Nor was that often obtruded upon them; the Scottish monarchs in general deeming themselves happy, if they could prevent these barbarous and predatory tribes from pillaging the more opulent and industrious inhabitants of the Low-Lands²³.

The remote situation of the Highlanders, and their ignorance of any language but that of their rude ancestors, commonly known by the name of Erse, contributed to prolong their barbarity and slavery. They had no means of making known their grievances to the throne, and few opportunities of becoming acquainted with the benefits of civil government, with the arts or accommodations of civil life.

The servitude of the Highland vassals, however, was alleviated by certain circumstances connected with their condition. All the people of the different clans bore the name of their hereditary chief, and were supposed to be allied to him by the ties of blood. This admitted claim of a common relation, which, in small clans, was a strong curb upon the oppressive spirit of domination, and in all led to a freedom of intercourse highly flattering to human pride, communicated to the vassal Highlanders, with the most implicit submission to their chiefs, a sentiment of conscious dignity, and a sense of natural equality, not to be found among the subjects of other petty despots or feudal lords. This idea of personal importance, and the complaisance of the Highland chiefs, were heightened by the perpetual wars among the clans; in which every individual had frequent opportunities of displaying his prowess, and of manifesting his attachment to the head of his family. The ties of blood were strengthened by those of interest, of gratitude, and mutual esteem.

²³ In palliation of these cruel inroads, it has been said, that the Highlanders having been driven from the Low-Country by invasion, have, from *time immemorial*, thought themselves "entitled to make reprisals upon the property of their invaders!" (Dalrymple's *Mem. of Great-Britain*). The same plea has been urged by the American savages, as an apology for pillaging the European settlements, and with more plausibility, as the *æra of invasion* is not *immemorial*.

Those wars, and the active life of the Highlanders in times of peace, when they were entirely employed in hunting or herding their cattle (the labours of husbandry among them being few), habituated them to the use of arms, and hardened them to the endurance of toil, without greatly wasting their bodily strength or destroying their agility. Their ancient military weapons, in conjunction with a target or buckler, were a broad-sword, for cutting or thrusting at a distance, and a dirk or dagger, for stabbing in close fight. To these, when they became acquainted with the use of fire-arms, they added a musquet, which was laid aside in battle after the first discharge. They occasionally carried also a pair of pistols, that were fired as soon as the musquet was discharged, and thrown in the face of the enemy, as a prelude to the havoc of the broad-sword; which was instantly brandished by every arm, gleaming like the coruscations of lightning, to infuse terror into the heart and conquer the eye of the foe, and which fell on the head, or on the target of an antagonist, with the shock of thunder. Want of perseverance and of union, however, generally rendered the efforts of the clans, as a body, abortive, notwithstanding their prowess in combat, and exposed them to the disgrace of being routed by an inferior number of regular troops.

The dress of the Highlanders was well suited to their arms, to their moist mountainous country, and to their mode of life. Instead of breeches they wore a light woollen garment, called the *kilt*, which came as low as the knee; a thick cloth jacket; a worsted plaid, six yards in length and two in breadth, wrapped loosely round the body; the upper fold of which rested on the left shoulder, leaving the right arm at full liberty. In battle they commonly threw away the plaid, that they might be enabled to make their movements with more celerity, and their strokes with greater force. They fought not in ranks, but in knots or separate bands, condensed and firm.

Such were the people who, under their numerous chief-

tains, had formed a regular confederacy, and were zealous for the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great-Britain. Strongly prepossessed in favour of the hereditary descent of the crown, they could form no conception of a parliamentary right to alter the order of succession, from political considerations. It contradicted all their ideas of kingship, and even of clanship. They therefore thought themselves bound, by a sacred indispensable obligation, to re-instate in his lineal inheritance the excluded prince, or to perish in the bold attempt.

The pretender's southern friends were no less liberal in their professions of zeal in his cause. They pressed him to land in the West of England; where his person would be as safe, they affirmed, as in Scotland, and where he would find all other things more favourable to his views, although they had yet taken no decisive measures for a general insurrection; though they still continued to represent arms and foreign troops as necessary to such a step, and were told that he was not only incapable of furnishing them with either, but assured that he could not bring with him so many men as would be able to protect him against the peace-officers²⁴.

To compose the spirit of the Highlanders, who seemed to fear nothing so much, as that the business of restoring their king would be taken out of their hands, and the honour appropriated by others, they were informed, that the pretender desired to have the rising of his friends in England and Scotland so adjusted, that they might in strict concert assist each other; and that it was very much to be wished all hostilities in Scotland could be suspended, until the English were ready to take arms. A memorial, drawn up by the duke of Berwick, had been already sent, by lord Bolingbroke, to the Jacobites in England, representing the unreasonableness of desiring the pretender to land among them, before they were in a condition to sup-

24 Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*.

port him. They were now requested to consider seriously whether they were yet in such a condition; and were assured, that, as soon as an intimation to that purpose should be given, and the time and place of his landing fixed, the pretender was ready to put himself at their head. They named, as a landing place, the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and said they hoped the western counties were in a good posture to receive the king; but they offered no conjecture with respect to the force they could bring into the field, or the dependence that might be placed on the persons who had engaged to rise.

This, as lord Bolingbroke justly observes, was not the answer of men who knew what they were about. Greater precision was surely necessary in dictating a message, that was expected to be attended with such important consequences. The duke of Ormond, however, set out from Paris, and the pretender, from his temporary residence at Bar on the frontiers of Lorraine, in order to join their common friends. Some agents were sent to the West, some to the North of England, and others to London, to give notice that both were on their way. And their routes were so directed, that Ormond was to sail from the coast of Normandy a few days before the pretender arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was to send immediate notice of his landing, and of the prospect of success²⁵.

But the pretender's imprudence, and the vigilance of the English government, defeated the designs of his adherents in the West, and broke, in its infancy, the force of a rebellion which threatened to deluge the kingdom in blood. Governed by priests and women, he had unwisely given, in the beginning of September, a secret order to the earl of Mar, already appointed his commander-in-chief for Scotland, to go immediately into that kingdom, and to take up arms. Mar, who had been secretary of state for Scotland during the reign of queen Anne, and

²⁵ Bolingbroke's *Letter to Wyndham*.

who had great influence in the Highlands, did not hesitate a moment to obey. He instantly left London, attended by lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had long served with distinction in Holland and Flanders; and as soon as he reached his own country, having assembled about three hundred of his friends and vassals, he proclaimed the pretender, under the name of James VIII. of Scotland, and set up his standard at Braemar, summoning all good
Sept. 6. subjects to join him, in order to restore their rightful sovereign to the throne of his ancestors, and deliver the nation from the tyranny of George, duke of Brunswick, usurper of the British monarchy²⁶.

In consequence of this proclamation, and a declaration by which it was followed, Mar was soon joined by the marquises of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls Marechal and Southesk, and all the heads of the Jacobite clans. With their assistance, he was able in a few weeks to collect about nine thousand men, well armed and accoutred. He took possession of the town of Perth, where he established his head quarters, and made himself master of almost all that part of Scotland which lies beyond the frith of Forth.

This was great and rapid success. But the duke of Argyll had already received orders to march against the rebels, with all the forces of North Britain; and the pretender's affairs had suffered, in the mean-time, an irreparable injury in another quarter. The jealousy of government being roused by the precipitate insurrection of Mar, the lords Lansdown and Duplin, the earl of Jersey, sir William Wyndham, and other Jacobite leaders, who had agreed to raise the West of England, were taken into custody on suspicion. The whole plan of a rebellion, in that part of the kingdom, was disconcerted. The gentlemen were intimidated, the people were overawed; so that the duke of Ormond, when he landed, was denied a night's lodging, in a country where he expected to head an army

and re-establish a king²⁷. He returned to France with the discouraging intelligence; but, as soon as the vessel that carried him could be refitted, astonishing as it may seem, he made a second attempt to land in the same part of the island. What he could propose by this second attempt, his best friends could never comprehend; and they were of opinion, that a storm, in which he was in danger of being cast away, and which forced him back to the French coast, saved him from a yet greater peril—that of perishing in an adventure, as full of extravagant rashness, and as void of all reasonable meaning, as any of those which have rendered the knight of La Mancha immortal.

The pretender's affairs wore a less unfavourable aspect, for a time, in the North of England. Mr. Foster, a gentleman of some influence in Northumberland, with the lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, and other Jacobite leaders, there took up arms, and assembled a considerable force. But as their troops consisted chiefly of cavalry, they wrote to the earl of Mar to send them a reinforcement of infantry. This request was readily complied with. Brigadier Mackintosh was ordered to join them, with eighteen hundred Highlanders. In the mean time, having failed in an attempt upon Newcastle, and being informed that Mackintosh had already crossed the Forth, they marched northward to meet him. On their way, they were joined by a body of horse, under the earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, the viscount Kenmuir, and other persons of distinction. They passed the Tweed at Kelso; and, when they had formed a junction with Mackintosh, a council of war was called, to deliberate on their future proceedings.

In this council, little unanimity could be expected, and as little was found. To march immediately toward the West of Scotland, and press the duke of Argyle on one side, while the earl of Mar attacked him on the other, seemed the most rational plan; as a victory over that nobleman, which they could scarcely have failed to obtain,

27 Bolingbroke's *Letter to Wyndham*.

would have put the pretender at once in possession of all North Britain. Such a proposal was made by the earl of Wintoun, and agreed to by all the Scottish leaders; but the English insisted on repassing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, who had been sent with only nine hundred horse, to suppress the rebellion in Northumberland.

From an incompilant spirit, mingled with national jealousy, the rebels adopted neither of those plans, nor embraced any fixed resolution. The English insurgents persisted in their refusal to penetrate into Scotland. Many of the Highlanders, equally obstinate, attempted in disgust to find their way home; and the remainder reluctantly accompanied Mackintosh and Foster, who entered England by the western border, leaving general Carpenter on the left.

These leaders proceeded, by the way of Penrith, Kendal, and Lancaster, to Preston, where they were in hopes of increasing their numbers, by the rising of the Catholics of Lancashire. But before they could receive any considerable accession of strength, or erect proper works for the defence of the town, they were informed that general Willes was ready to invest it, with six regiments of cavalry, and one battalion of infantry. They now prepared themselves for resistance, and repelled the first attack of the king's troops with vigour; but Willes being joined, the next day, by three regiments of dragoons under general

Nov. 14. Carpenter, the rebels lost all heart, and surrendered at discretion²⁸.

Several reduced officers, found to have been in arms against their sovereign, were immediately shot as deserters; the nobles and gentlemen were sent prisoners to London and committed to the Tower; while the common men were confined in the castle of Chester, and other secure places in the country.

The day before the rebellion in England was extinguished by the surrender of Foster and his associates at Preston, the rebels in Scotland received a severe shock from the

royal troops. The earl of Mar, after having wasted his time in forming his army, with unnecessary parade, at Perth, resolved to march into England, and join his southern friends. With this view he marched to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his forces, and halted a day, before he attempted to cross the Forth. The duke of Argyle, who lay on the southern side of that river, instead of waiting to dispute the passage of the rebels, marched over the bridge of Stirling, as soon as he was informed of their intention, and encamped within a few miles of the earl of Mar, with his left to the village of Dumblane, and his right toward Sheriff-Muir. His army scarcely exceeded a third part of the number of the rebel host; but he did not despair of success. On the approach of the enemy, finding himself out-flanked, and in danger of being surrounded, he altered the disposition and arrangements which he had previously made, and took possession of an eminence to the north-east of Dumblane. In consequence of this movement, which was attended with some degree of confusion, the left wing of the royal army fell in with the centre of the rebels, composed of the clans, headed by Glengary, the captain of Clanronald, sir John Maclean, Campbell of Glenlyon, Gordon of Glenbucket, and other chieftains. The combat was fierce and bloody, and the Highlanders seemed at one time discouraged, by the loss of one of their leaders; when Glengary waving his bonnet, and crying aloud, "Revenge! revenge!" they rushed up to the muzzles of the musquets of the king's troops, pushed aside the bayonets with their targets, and made great havock with their broad-swords. The left wing of the royal army was quickly broken and routed. Whetham, who commanded it, fled to Stirling, declaring that all was lost.

Meanwhile the duke of Argyle, who conducted in person the right wing of the royal army, consisting chiefly of horse, had defeated the left of the rebels, and pursued

them with great slaughter, as far as the river Allen, in which many of them were drowned. This pursuit however, though hot, was by no means rapid. The rebels, notwithstanding their habitual dread of cavalry, the shock of which their manner of fighting rendered them little able to resist, frequently made a stand, and endeavoured to renew the combat. And if the earl of Mar, who remained with the victorious part of his army, had possessed only a moderate share of military talents, Argyle would never have dared to revisit the field of battle. He might even have been overpowered by numbers, and cut off by one body of the rebels, when fatigued with combating the other. But no such attempt being made, and the advantage gained over his left wing not being properly improved, the duke returned triumphant to the scene of action; and Mar, who had taken post on the top of a hill, with about five thousand of the flower of his army, not only forbore to molest the king's troops, but retired in the night, and hastened to Perth. In the morning the duke of Argyle, who had been joined by the remains of his left wing, perceiving that the rebels had saved him the trouble of dislodging them, drew off his army toward Stirling, carrying off the enemy's artillery, bread-waggon, and many prisoners of distinction²⁹.

This battle, though not in itself decisive, proved fatal in its consequences to the affairs of the pretender in Scotland. Lord Lovat, the chief of the Frasers, who seemed disposed to join the rebels, now declared for the established government, and seized the important post of Inverness, from which he drove sir John Mackenzie; while the earl of Sutherland, who had hitherto been over-awed, appeared openly in the same cause. Against those noblemen, Mar detached the marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth, with their numerous vassals. But the rebel chiefs, instead of coming

²⁹ *London Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1715.—*Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.—*Account of the battle of Dunblane*, printed at Edinburgh in 1715.

to immediate action, suffered themselves to be amused with negotiations; and both, after some hesitation, returned to their allegiance under king George. The marquis of Tullibardine also withdrew from the rebel army, in order to defend his own country against the friends of government; and the clans, disgusted at their ill success, dispersed on the approach of winter, with their usual want of perseverance.

The pretender, who had hitherto resisted every solicitation to come over, took the unaccountable resolution, in this desperate state of his affairs, of landing in the north of Scotland. He accordingly set sail from Dunkirk in a small vessel, and arrived at Peterhead, attended only by six gentlemen. He was met at Fetter-Dec. 22. rosse by the earl of Mar, and conducted to Perth. There a regular council was formed, and a day fixed for his coronation at Scone. But he was diverted from all thoughts of that vain ceremony by the approach of the duke of Argyle; who, having been reinforced with six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, advanced toward Perth, notwithstanding the rigour of the season.

As that town had no other fortification than a simple wall, and was otherwise unprovided for a siege, the king's troops took possession of it without resistance. Mar, and the pretender had retired to Montrose; and, seeing no prospect of better fortune, they em-A. D. 1716 barked for France with the earl of Melfort and other men of rank. General Gordon and earl Marechal proceeded northward with the main body of the rebels, by a march so rapid as to elude pursuit. Many who did not expect pardon, embarked at Aberdeen for the continent. The common people were conducted to the hills of Badenoch, and there quietly dismissed. The whole country submitted to the duke of Argyle.

Such, my dear Philip, was the issue of a rebellion, which originated, as we have seen, from the intrigues in favour of the pretender, during the latter years of the

reign of queen Anne, not from the measures of the new government, as represented by the Jacobite writers. Its declared object was the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great-Britain; and that event, many otherwise-intelligent men have supposed, would have been attended with fewer inconveniences than the accession of the house of Hanover. But they who reflect, that the pretender was a bigoted papist, and not only obstinately refused to change his religion, though sensible of his being incapacitated by it from legally succeeding to the crown, but studiously avoided, in his very manifestoes, giving any open and unequivocal assurance, that he would maintain the civil and religious liberties of the nation, *as by law established*³⁰, will find reason to be of another opinion. They will consider the suppression of this rebellion, which defeated the designs of the Jacobites, and in a manner extinguished the hopes of the pretender, as an event of the utmost importance to the happiness of Great-Britain.—The earl of Derwentwater, lord Kenmuir, and a few other rebel prisoners, publicly suffered death; but no blood was wantonly shed. These executions were dictated by prudence, rather than by vengeance.

We must now turn our eyes toward another quarter of Europe, and take a view of the king of Sweden and his antagonist, Peter the Great. The Swedish prince particularly claims our attention at this period; as, among his other extravagant projects, he had formed a design of restoring the pretender.

30 See Bolingbroke's *Letter to sir William Wyndham*, in which many curious proofs of the pretender's duplicity and bigotry are given. When the draught of a declaration, and other papers, to be dispersed in Great-Britain, were presented to him by his secretary, "he took exception against several passages, and particularly against those wherein a *direct promise* of securing the churches of England and Ireland was made. 'He was told,' he said, 'that he could not, in conscience, make such a promise.' The draughts were accordingly altered by his priests; and the most material passages were turned with all the jesuitical prevarication imaginable." In consequence of these alterations, Bolingbroke refused to countersign the declaration.

LETTER XXV.

Of the Affairs of Turkey, Russia, and the Northern Kingdoms, from the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultowa, in 1709, to the Death of Peter the Great, in 1725.

THE defeat of the king of Sweden at Pultowa, as I have already had occasion to notice, was followed by the most important consequences. The prince who had so long been the terror of Europe, was obliged to take shelter in the Turkish dominions, where he continued in a state of exile; while his former rival, the Russian monarch, victorious on every side, restored Augustus to the throne of Poland, expelled the Swedes from that country, and made himself master of Carelia and Livonia¹.

The circumstances attending these conquests are not sufficiently interesting to merit a particular detail. I shall therefore pass them over, and proceed to the intrigues of Charles and Poniatowski at the Ottoman court, which gave birth to more striking events. It is proper, however, to observe, in this place, that the king of Denmark, having declared war against Sweden, soon after the defeat of the Swedish monarch at Pultowa, in hopes of profiting by the misfortunes of that prince, and invaded Schonen, his troops were routed with great slaughter near Elsingburg, by the Swedish militia, and a few regiments of veterans, under general Stenbock.

Charles was so much delighted with the news of this victory, and enraged at the conduct of those enemies who had risen up against him in his absence, that he could not forbear exclaiming, "My brave Swedes! should it please

¹ Voltaire, *Hist. de Russie*, chap. xix.

"God that I once more join you, we will beat them all!" He had then, indeed, a near prospect of being able to return to his capital as a conqueror, and to take severe vengeance on his numerous adversaries.

It is a maxim of the Turkish government, to consider as sacred the persons of such unfortunate princes as take refuge in the dominions of the grand signor, and to supply them liberally with the conveniences of life, according to their rank, while within the limits of the Ottoman empire. Agreeably to this generous maxim, the king of Sweden was honourably conducted to Bender; and saluted, on his arrival, with a general discharge of the artillery. As he did not choose to lodge within the town, Ismael, the pasha or governor of the province, caused a magnificent tent to be erected for him on the banks of the Niester. Tents were also erected for his principal attendants; and these tents were afterward transformed into houses: so that the camp of the unfortunate monarch gradually became a considerable village. Great numbers of strangers resorted to Bender to see him. The Turks and neighbouring Greeks came thither in crowds. All respected and admired him. His inflexible resolution to abstain from wine, and his regularity in assisting publicly twice a-day at divine service, induced the Mohammedans to say that he was a true believer, and inspired them with an ardent desire of marching under him to the conquest of Russia².

That idea still occupied the mind of Charles. Though a fugitive among infidels, and destitute of resources, he was not without hopes of yet being able to dethrone the czar. With this view, his envoy at the court of Constantinople delivered memorials to the grand vizir; and his friend Poniatowski, who was always dressed in the Turkish habit, and had free access every where, supported these solicitations by his intrigues. Ahmed III., the reigning sultan, presented Poniatowski with a purse of a thousand

ducats; and the vizir said to him, "I will take your king
" in one hand, and a sword in the other; and conduct him
" to Moscow at the head of two hundred thousand men."³
But the czar's money soon changed the sentiments of the
Turkish minister. The military chest, which Peter had
taken at Pultowa, furnished him with new arms to wound
the vanquished Charles, whose blood-earned treasures were
turned against himself. All thoughts of a war with Russia
were laid aside at the Porte.

The king of Sweden, however, though thus discomfited
in his negotiations; by means of the czar's gold, as he had
been in the field by the army of that prince, was not in the
least dejected. Convinced that the soltan was ignorant of
the intrigues of the vizir, he resolved to acquaint him with
the corruption of his minister; and Poniatowski undertook
the execution of this hazardous business.

The Turkish emperor goes every Friday to the mosque,
surrounded by his *solaks*; a kind of guards, whose turbans
are adorned with such high feathers as to conceal the prince
from the view of the people. When any one has a petition
to present, he endeavours to mingle with the guards, and
holds the paper aloft. Sometimes the soltan condescends
to receive the petition himself; but he more frequently
orders an aga to take charge of it, and causes it to be laid
before him on his return from the mosque. Poniatowski
had no other method of conveying his master's complaint
to Ahmed.

Some days after receiving the petition, the soltan sent
a polite letter to Charles, accompanied with a present of
twenty-five Arabian horses; one of which, having carried
his sublime highness, was covered with a saddle and trap-
pings ornamented with precious stones, and furnished with
stirrups of massy gold. But he declined taking any step to
the disadvantage of his minister, whose conduct he seemed

to approve. The ruin of the vizir, however, was approaching. Through the intrigues of Poniatowski, he was banished to Caffa in Crim Tartary; and the seal of the empire was given to Numan Kupruli, grandson to the great Kupruli, who took Candia from the Venetians.

The new minister, who was a man of incorruptible integrity, could not bear the thoughts of a war against Russia, which he considered as alike unnecessary and unjust. But the same attachment to justice, which disinclined him to a violation of the faith of treaties, induced him to observe the rights of hospitality toward the king of Sweden, and even to enlarge the generosity of the sultan to that unfortunate prince. He sent Charles eight hundred purses, each containing five hundred crowns, and advised him to return peaceably to his own dominions; either through the territories of the emperor of Germany, or in some of the French vessels which then lay in the harbour of Constantinople.

But the haughty and inflexible Charles, who still imagined that he should be able to engage the Turks in his project of dethroning the czar, obstinately rejected this, and every other proposal for his quiet return to Sweden. He was constantly employed in magnifying the power of his former rival, whom he had long affected to despise; and his emissaries took care, at the same time, to insinuate that Peter was ambitious of subduing the Cossacks, carrying his arms into Crim Tartary, and securing the command of the Black Sea⁴. But these insinuations, which sometimes alarmed the Porte, generally yielded to the more powerful arguments of the Russian ministers.

While the obstinacy of the king of Sweden, in refusing to return to his own dominions in any other character than that of a conqueror, made his fate thus depend upon the caprice of vizirs; while he was alternately receiving fa-

⁴ Voltaire, *ubi sup.* These particulars this lively author had partly from Poniatowski himself, and partly from M. de Feriol, the French ambassador at the Porte.

vours and affronts from the great enemy of Christianity, himself a devout Christian; presenting petitions to the grand Turk, and subsisting upon his bounty in a desert; —the Russian monarch was exhibiting to his people a spectacle not unworthy of the ancient Romans, when Rome was in her glory. To inspire his subjects with a taste of magnificence, and impress them with an awful respect for his power, he made his public entry into Moscow (after reinstating his ally on the throne of Poland) under seven triumphal arches, erected in the streets, and adorned with every thing that the climate could produce, or a thriving commerce furnish. First in procession marched a regiment of guards, followed by the artillery taken from the Swedes; each piece of which was drawn by eight horses, splendidly caparisoned. Next came the kettle-drums, colours, and standards, won from the same enemy, carried by the officers and soldiers who had captured them. These trophies were followed by the finest troops of the czar; and after they had filed off, the litter in which Charles was carried at the battle of Pultowa, shattered with cannon shot, appeared in a chariot made on purpose to display it. Behind the litter marched, in pairs, count Piper, general Renschild, Lewenhaupt, and other distinguished captives, with a multitude of inferior prisoners. Then appeared the triumphant conqueror, mounted on the same horse which he rode in that memorable engagement, and followed by the generals who had a share in the victory; the whole being closed by a vast number of waggons, loaded with the Swedish military stores, and preceded by a regiment of Russian guards⁵.

This magnificent spectacle, which augmented the veneration of the Moscovites for the person of Peter, and perhaps made him appear greater in their eyes, than all his military achievements and civil institutions, furnished Charles with new arguments for awakening the jealousy of

⁵ *Hist. de Russie*, chap. xix. — *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. v.

the Porte. The grand vizir Kupruli, who had zealously opposed the views of the king of Sweden, was dismissed from his office, after having filled it only two months, and the seal of the empire was given to Baltagi Mohammed, pasha of Syria. Baltagi, on his arrival at Constantinople, found the interest of the Swedish monarch prevailing in the seraglio. The mother of the reigning emperor, his favourite Kumurgi, the *kislar aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs, and the aga of the janisaries, were all for a war against Russia; and Ahmed himself, now embracing the same resolution, gave orders to the vizir to attack the dominions of the czar with two hundred thousand men. Baltagi was no warrior, but he prepared to obey⁶.

The first violent step of the Ottoman court was the arrest of the Russian ambassador, who was com-
 Nov. 29. mitted to the castle of the Seven Towers. It is the custom of the Turks to begin hostilities with imprisoning the ministers of those princes against whom they intend to declare war, instead of ordering them to leave the dominions of the Porte. This barbarous custom, at which even savages would blush, they pretend to vindicate, by alleging that they never undertake any but just wars, and that they have a right to punish the ambassadors of the princes with whom they are at enmity, as accomplices in the treachery of their masters.

But the true origin of the practice may be referred to the ancient and hereditary hatred and contempt of the Turks for the Christian powers, which they take every occasion of showing⁷; and to the meanness of the latter, who from motives of interest, and jealousy of each other, con-

⁶ *Hist de Charles XII.* liv. v.

⁷ The insults to which Christian traders in Turkey are exposed, even at this day, are too horrid to be mentioned, and such as only the inordinate love of gold could induce any man of spirit to submit to, however small his veneration for the religion of the cross. Consuls and ambassadors, though invested with a public character, and more immediately entitled to protection, are not altogether exempted from such insults.

tinually support a number of ambassadors, considered as little better than spies, at the court of Constantinople, while the proud soltan rarely sends an ambassador to any court in Christendom. It is a disrespect to the Christian name and the office of resident, that betrays the votary of the Koran into this flagrant breach of the law of nations; a law which his prejudices induce him to think ought only to be observed toward the faithful, or those eastern nations, who, though not Mohammedans, equal the Turks in stateliness of manners, and decline sending any ambassadors among them, except on extraordinary occasions. In consequence of these prejudices, the Russian ambassador was imprisoned, as a prelude to a declaration of war against his master.

The czar was soon ready to meet his new enemies. He ordered his forces in Poland to march to the southward; withdrew his troops from Livonia, and made every preparation for opening the campaign with vigour on the frontiers of Turkey. Nor were the Turks negligent in taking measures for opposing, and even humbling him. The khan of Crim Tartary was ordered to keep a great army in readiness; and the military subjects of the Porte were collected from all quarters.

Gained over, by presents and promises, to the interest of the king of Sweden, the khan at first obtained leave to appoint the general rendezvous of the Turkish forces near Bender, and even under the eye of Charles, in order more effectually to convince him, that the war was undertaken solely on his account. But the vizir Baltagi, who lay under no such obligations, did not choose to flatter a foreign prince so highly at the expense of truth. He was sensible, that the jealousy of the soltan at the neighbourhood of so powerful a prince as Peter, and his alarm at the increasing strength of Azoph, and at the number of Russian ships on the Black Sea and the Palus Mæotis, were the real causes of the war. He therefore changed the place of rendezvous. The troops of the Porte were ordered to assem-

ble on the extensive and fertile plains of Adrianople, where the Turks usually muster their forces when they are going to make war upon the Christians. There the soldiers who arrive from Asia and Africa, are commonly allowed to repose themselves for a few weeks, and to recruit their strength before they enter upon action. But A.D. 1711. Baltagi, hoping to anticipate the preparations of the czar, began his march toward the Danube, within three days after reviewing his forces.

Peter had already taken the field at the head of a formidable army, and planned his route through Moldavia and Walachia; the country of the ancient Daci, but now inhabited by Greek Christians, who are tributary to the grand signor. Moldavia was at this time governed by Demetrius Cantemir; a prince of Grecian extraction, and who united in his character the accomplishments of the ancient Greeks, the use of arms, and the knowledge of letters. This prince fondly imagined that the conqueror of Charles XII. would easily triumph over a vizir who had never made a campaign, and who had chosen for his *kiaia*, or lieutenant-general, the superintendant of the customs at Constantinople. He accordingly resolved to join the czar, and did not doubt that all his subjects would readily follow his example, as the Greek patriarch encouraged him in his revolt. Having concluded a secret treaty with prince Cantemir, and received him into his army, Peter, thus encouraged, advanced with alacrity, passed June. the Niester, and reached the northern banks of the Pruth, near Yassi, the capital of Moldavia⁸.

But the Russian monarch, by confiding in the promises of the Moldavian prince, soon found himself in a situation as perilous, on the banks of the Pruth, as that in which his rival had involved himself at Pultowa, in consequence of relying on the friendship of Mazeppa. The Moldavians, happy under the Turkish government, which is seldom fatal to any but the *grandees*, and affects great lenity to-

ward its tributary provinces, refused to follow the standard of Cantemir, or to supply the Russians with provisions. Meanwhile the vizir, having passed the Pruth, advanced with an army so numerous, that the czar's troops were in a manner encompassed. He formed an entrenched camp before them, the river running behind him; and forty thousand Tartars were continually harassing them on the right and left.

As soon as Poniatowski, who was in the Ottoman camp, saw that an engagement was inevitable, he sent an express to the king of Sweden; who, although he had refused to join the Turkish army, because he was not permitted to command it, immediately left Bender, anticipating the pleasure of beholding the ruin of the czar. To avoid that ruin, Peter decamped under favour of the night; but, his intent being discovered, the Turks attacked his rear by break of day, and threw his army into some confusion. The Russians, however, having rallied behind their baggage-waggons, made so strong and regular a fire upon the enemy, that it was judged impracticable to dislodge them, after two terrible attacks, in which the Turks lost a great number of men. Unwilling to risque a third assault, the vizir determined to reduce the czar and his exhausted army by famine. This was the most prudent measure he could have adopted. The Russians were not only destitute of forage and provisions, but even of the means of quenching their thirst. Notwithstanding their vicinity to the Pruth, they were in great want of water; a body of Turks guarding, by a continual discharge of artillery, that precious necessary of life.

In this desperate extremity, when the loss of his army seemed the least evil that could befall him, the czar, on the approach of night, retired to his tent, in violent agitation of mind; giving positive orders that no person whatever should be admitted to disturb his privacy—to behold his exquisite distress, or shake a great resolution he had taken of attempting, the next morning, to force his way through

the enemy with fixed bayonets. Catharine, a Livonian captive of low condition, whom he had raised to the throne, and who accompanied him in this expedition, boldly exposing her person to every danger, thought proper to break through these orders. She ventured, for once, to disobey; but not from a feminine weakness. Her mind alone rode out that storm of despair, in which the prospect of unavoidable death or slavery had sunk the whole camp. Entering the melancholy abode of her husband, and throwing herself at his feet, she entreated the czar to permit her to offer, in his name, proposals of peace to the grand vizir. Peter, after some hesitation, consented. He signed a letter which she presented to him; and the czarina, having made choice of an officer on whose fidelity and talents she could depend, dispatched him to the Turkish camp with the epistle, and a present of jewels and other valuable articles, according to the custom of the East.

“Let the czar send to me his prime minister!” said Baltagi, with the haughty tone of a conqueror; “and I will then consider what is to be done.” The vice-chancellor, Shaffiroff, immediately repaired to the Ottoman camp, and a negotiation took place. The vizir at first demanded, that Peter and his whole army should surrender prisoners of war. The vice-chancellor replied, that the Russians would perish to a man sooner than submit to such dishonourable conditions; that his master’s resolution was already taken: he was determined to open a passage with the point of the bayonet. Baltagi, though unskilled in military affairs, was sensible of the danger of driving to despair a body of thirty-five thousand brave and disciplined warriors, headed by a gallant prince.

July 21.

He granted a suspension of arms for six hours; and, before the expiration of that term, it was agreed by the Russian minister, that the czar should restore Azoph, destroy the works at Taganrok, demolish the forts built near the Palus Mæotis, withdraw his troops from Poland, give no farther disturbance to the Cossacks,

and permit the Swedish monarch to return into his own kingdom⁹.

On these conditions, Peter was allowed to retire with his army. The Turks supplied him with provisions; so that he had plenty of every thing in his camp, only two hours after signing the treaty. He would not, however, delay his retreat, aware of the danger of intervening accidents. And as he was marching off, with drums beating and colours flying, the king of Sweden arrived impatient for the fight, and happy in the thought of having his enemy in his power. Poniatowski met him with a dejected countenance, and informed him of the peace. Inflamed with resentment, Charles flew to the tent of the vizir, and keenly reproached him with the treaty he had concluded. "I have a right," said Baltagi, with a calm aspect, "to make either peace or war. And our law commands us to grant peace to our enemies, when they implore our mercy."—"And does it command you," subjoined Charles, in a haughty tone, "to stay the operations of war, by an unmeaning treaty, when you might impose the law of the conqueror? Did not fortune afford you an opportunity of leading the czar in chains to Constantinople?" The vizir, thus pressed, replied, with an imperious frown, "And who would have governed his empire in his absence? It is not proper that all crowned heads should leave their dominions!" Charles answered only by a contemptuous smile. Swelling with indignation, he threw himself upon a sofa; and, darting on all around him a look of disdain, he stretched out his leg, and, entangling his spur in Baltagi's robe, purposely tore it. The vizir took no notice of this splenetic insult, which he seemed to consider as an accident; and the king, farther mortified by that magnanimous neglect, sprang up, mounted his horse, and returned with a sorrowful heart to Bender¹⁰.

⁹ Voltaire, ubi supra.

¹⁰ *Hist de Charles XII.* liv. v.—Voltaire had all these particulars from Poniatowski, who was present at the interview.

Baltagi, however, was soon made sensible of his error, in not paying more attention to the claims of Charles. For, although the grand signor was so well pleased with the recent treaty, when the news first reached Constantinople, that he ordered public rejoicings for a whole week, Poniatowski and the other agents of Charles soon found means to persuade him, that his interests had been betrayed. The grand vizir was disgraced; but not before he had procured an order for discontinuing the liberal allowance of five hundred crowns a day, with which, beside a profusion of every thing necessary for his table, the exiled prince had been hitherto indulged. The new vizir, Yusef, was not more disposed than Baltagi to favour the views of the king of Sweden; for he confirmed the treaty with the czar; and all the attempts of Charles to rekindle the war between the Turks and Russians proved ineffectual; for the divan, wearied out with his importunities, came to a resolution to send him back, not with a numerous army, as a king whose cause the soltan intended to support, but as a troublesome fugitive whom he wanted to dismiss, attended by a sufficient guard. For this purpose Ahmed sent Charles a letter; April 19, in which, after styling him *a very powerful prince*
 1712. *among the votaries of Jesus, brilliant in majesty, and a lover of honour and glory*, he peremptorily required his departure. "Though we had proposed," says the soltan, "to send our victorious army once more against the czar, we have found reason to change our resolution. To avoid the just resentment which we had expressed at his delaying to execute the treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth, and afterward renewed at our sublime Porte, that prince has surrendered into our hands the castle and city of Azoph; and endeavoured, through the mediation of the ambassadors of England and Holland, our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us. We have therefore granted his request, and delivered to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us as hostages, our imperial ratification,

“having first received his from their hands. We have
 “given our inviolable orders to the khan of the Crimea
 “and the pasha Ismael for your return to the north. You
 “must therefore prepare to set out, under the protection
 “of Providence, and with an honourable guard, on pur-
 “pose to return to your own dominions, taking care to pass
 “through those of Poland in a peaceable manner.”

Although this letter is sufficiently explicit, it did not extinguish the hopes of the king of Sweden. He still flattered himself that he should be able to involve the Porte in a new war with Russia: and he had almost accomplished his aim. He discovered that the czar had not yet withdrawn his troops from Poland. When the soltan was informed of this circumstance, he threatened to strangle the vizir: but the favourite Kumurgi protected that minister; and, though the Russian ambassador was again committed to the castle of the Seven Towers, the storm was soon dissipated. The czar’s plenipotentiaries, who had not yet left the Porte, engaged that the troops of their master should immediately evacuate Poland. The treaty of peace was renewed; and the king of Sweden was again desired to prepare for his departure.

When Ismael intimated this requisition to Charles, he replied, that he could not commence his journey unless he had a sufficient sum for the payment of his debts. The pasha asked, how much would be necessary. The king, at a venture, said a thousand purses. Ismael acquainted the Porte with this request; and the soltan readily acceded to it. “Our imperial munificence,” says he, in a letter to the pasha, “hath granted a thousand purses to the king of Sweden, which shall be sent to Bender, to remain in your custody until the departure of the Swedish monarch; and then be given him, with two hundred purses more, as an additional mark of our imperial liberality.”

11 Voltaire, *Hist. de Ch.* XII. liv. vi.

Notwithstanding the strictness of these orders, Grothusen, the king's treasurer, found means to get the money from the pasha before the departure of his master, under pretence of making the necessary preparations for his journey; and a few days after, to procure farther delay, Charles demanded another grant of a thousand purses. Confounded at this request, Ismael stood for a moment speechless, and was observed to drop a tear. "I shall lose my head," said he, "for having obliged your majesty!" and he took his leave with a sorrowful countenance. He now wrote to the Porte in his own vindication; protesting that he did not deliver the twelve hundred purses, but upon a solemn promise from the Swedish minister that his master would instantly depart. The governor's excuse. A. D. 1713. was admitted. The displeasure of Ahmed felt wholly upon Charles. Having convoked an extraordinary divan, he spoke to the following purport, his eyes flashing with indignation: "I hardly ever knew the king of Sweden, except by his defeat at Pultowa, and the request he made to me for an asylum in my dominions. I have not, I believe, any need of his assistance, or any cause to love or to fear him. Nevertheless, without being influenced by any other motive than the hospitality of a true believer, directed by my natural generosity, which sheds the dew of beneficence upon the high as well as the low, upon strangers as well as my own subjects, I have received, protected, and maintained that prince, his ministers, officers, and soldiers, according to the dignity of a king; and, for the space of three years and a half, have continued to load him with favours. I have granted him a considerable guard to conduct him back to his own kingdom. He asked a thousand purses to pay some debts, though I defray all his expenses: instead of a thousand, I granted him twelve hundred purses; and having received these, he yet refuses to depart, until he shall obtain a thousand more, and a stronger guard, al-

“ though that already appointed is more than sufficient.
 “ I therefore ask you, whether it will be a breach of the
 “ laws of hospitality to send away this prince, and whether
 “ foreign powers can reasonably tax me with cruelty and
 “ injustice, if I should use force to expedite his depar-
 “ ture¹²?”

All the members of the divan answered, that such conduct would be consistent with strict justice. An order to that effect was accordingly sent to the pasha, who immediately informed Charles of it. “ Obey your master, if you
 “ dare !” said the king ; “ and leave my presence instantly.” The governor did not need this insult to animate him to his duty. He coolly prepared to execute the commands of his sovereign ; and Charles, in spite of the earnest entreaties of his friends, resolved, with his attendants and three hundred Swedish soldiers, to oppose a numerous army of Turks and Tartars, having ordered regular entrenchments to be thrown up for that purpose. After some hesitation, occasioned by the uncommon nature of the service, the word of command was given. The Turks and their as-
 sociates marched up to the Swedish fortifications ;
 and the cannon began to play. The little camp was quickly forced, and all the soldiers were made prisoners.

Feb. 12.

Charles, who was then on horseback, between the camp and his house, took refuge in the latter, attended by a few general officers and domestics. With these, he fired from the windows upon the Turks and Tartars ; killed some of them, and bravely maintained his post, till the house was in flames, and one half of the roof fell in. In this extremity, a sentinel, named Rosen, had the presence of mind to observe, that the chancery house had a stone roof, and was proof against fire ; that they ought to sally forth, take possession of that house, and defend themselves to extremity. “ There is a true Swede !” cried Charles, rushing

out, like a madman, at the head of a few desperadoes. The Turks at first recoiled, from respect to the person of the king; but suddenly recollecting their orders, they surrounded the Swedes, and Charles was made prisoner, with all his attendants. Being in boots as usual, he entangled himself with his spurs, and fell. A number of Janisaries sprang upon him. He threw his sword up into the air, to avoid the mortification of surrendering it: and some of the Janisaries taking hold of his legs, and others of his arms, he was carried in that manner to the tent of the pasha¹³.

Ismael gave Charles his own apartments, and ordered him to be served as a king, but not without taking the precaution to plant a guard of Janisaries at the door of the chamber. The next day he was conducted toward Adrianople, as a captive, in a chariot covered with scarlet. On his way he was informed by the baron Fabricius, envoy from the duke of Holstein, that he was not the only Christian monarch who was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks; that his friend Stanislaus, having come to share his fortunes, had been taken into custody, and was under a guard of soldiers, who were conducting him to Bender. "Run to him, my dear Fabricius!" cried Charles—"desire him never to make peace with Augustus, and assure him that our affairs will soon take a more flattering turn." Fabricius hastened to execute his commission, attended by a janisary; having first obtained leave from the pasha, who in person commanded the guard.

So entirely was the king of Sweden wedded to his own opinions, that, although abandoned by all the world, deprived of great part of his dominions, a fugitive among the Turks, whose liberality he had abused, and now led captive, without knowing whither he was to be carried, he still reckoned on the favours of fortune, and hoped the Ottoman court would send him home at the head of a hundred thousand men!—This idea continued to occupy him

13 Voltaire, ubi sup.

during the whole time of his confinement. He was at first committed to the castle of Demirtash, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, but was afterward allowed to reside at Demotica, a little town about six leagues distant from that city, and near the famous river Hebrus, now called Mariza. There he renewed his intrigues; and a French adventurer, counterfeiting madness, had the boldness to present, in his name, a memorial to the grand signor. In that memorial the imaginary wrongs of Charles were set forth in the strongest terms, and the ministers of the Porte were accused of extorting from the soltan an order, in direct violation of the laws of nations, as well as of the hospitality of a Moslem—an order in itself utterly unworthy of a great emperor, to attack, with twenty thousand men, a sovereign who had none but his domestics to defend him, and who relied upon the sacred word of the sublime Ahmed.

In consequence of this intrigue, as was supposed, a sudden change took place in the seraglio. The mufti was deposed; the khan of Tartary was banished to Rhodes, and the pasha Ismael was confined in one of the islands of the Archipelago. One vizir was disgraced and another strangled. But these changes in the ministry of the Porte produced none in the condition of the king of Sweden, who still remained a prisoner at Demotica; and, apprehending that the Turks might not be disposed to treat him with the respect due to his royal person, or might oblige him to submit to various degradations, he resolved to keep his bed, during his captivity, under pretence of sickness. This resolution he is said to have kept for ten months¹⁴.

While the naturally active and indefatigable Charles, who held in contempt all effeminate indulgences, and had set even the elements themselves at defiance, was wasting, from caprice, his time and his constitution in bed, or harassing his mind with fruitless intrigues, the northern princes, who had formerly trembled at his name, and whose

¹⁴ *Hist. de Char. XII. liv. vii.*

terrors he might by a different conduct have prolonged, were dismembering his dominions. General Steenbock defended Pomerania, and all his master's possessions in Germany, as long as possible. But he could not prevent the combined army of Danes and Saxons from besieging Stade, a place of great strength and importance, situated on the banks of the Elbe, in the duchy of Bremen. The town was bombarded and reduced to ashes, and the garrison obliged to surrender, before Steenbock could come to their assistance.

The Swedish general, however, with twelve thousand men, pursued the enemy, whose number exceeded twenty thousand, and overtook them at Gadebush, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in December 1712. He was separated from them, when he first came in sight, by a morass. The Danes and Saxons, who did not decline the combat, were so posted as to have this morass in front, and a wood in the rear. Not deterred by those advantages from which the foe derived hopes of success, Steenbock passed the morass at the head of his troops, and began one of the most furious and bloody battles that ever occurred between the rival nations of the North. After a well-disputed conflict of three hours, the Danes and Saxons were totally routed with great slaughter. But Steenbock stained the honour of his victory, by burning the flourishing, though defenceless, town of Altena, belonging to the king of Denmark. In consequence of that severity, many thousands of the inhabitants perished of hunger and cold. All Germany exclaimed against so shocking an insult on humanity; and the ministers of Poland and Denmark wrote to the Swedish general, reproaching him with an act of cruelty committed without necessity, which could not fail to awaken the vengeance of Heaven and earth against him. The enlightened but unfeeling Goth replied, that he never should have exercised such rigour, had it not been with a view of teaching the enemies of Sweden to respect the laws of na-

tions, and not to make war, for the future, like barbarians. They had not only, he observed, ravaged the beautiful province of Pomerania, but sold near a hundred thousand of its inhabitants to the Turks; and the torches which had laid Altena in ashes, he said, formed a proper return for the red-hot bullets, which had wrapped in flames the more valuable city of Stade¹⁵.

Had the king of Sweden appeared in this scene of action, while his subjects carried on the war with such implacable resentment, and even with success, against their numerous enemies, he might perhaps have repaired his ruined fortunes. His troops, though so widely separated from his person, were still animated by his spirit. But the absence of a prince is always prejudicial to his affairs, and, in particular, prevents his generals from making a proper use of their victories. Steenbock lost, almost instantly, the fruits of his valour and conduct; which, at a happier crisis, would have been permanent conquests. Though victorious, he could not effectually impede the junction of the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, whose hostilities obliged him to seek an asylum for himself and his gallant army in Tonningen, a fortress of Holstein.

That duchy was then subjected to the most cruel ravages. The young duke, nephew of Charles, and presumptive heir to the crown of Sweden, was the natural enemy of the king of Denmark, who had endeavoured to strip his father of his dominions, and to crush *him* in the very cradle. The bishop of Lubeck, one of his father's brothers, and administrator of the dominions of this unfortunate ward, now beheld himself in a very critical situation. His own territories were already exhausted by continual contributions; the Swedish army claimed his protection; and the forces of Russia, Denmark, and Saxony, threatened the duchy with immediate desolation. But that danger was seemingly removed by the address of the famous baron de Goertz, who wholly governed the bishop,

and was the most artful and enterprising man of his time; endowed with a genius uncommonly penetrating, and fruitful in every resource.

Goertz had a private conference with general Stéenböck, at which he promised to deliver up to him the fortress of Toningen, without exposing the bishop-administrator, his master, to any inconvenience: and he gave, at the same time, the strongest assurances to the king of Denmark, that he would defend the place to the utmost. The governor accordingly refused to open the gates; but the Swedes were admitted partly within the walls, and partly under the cannon of the town, in consequence of a pretended order from the young duke. This indulgence, however, procured by ingenious deceit, proved of little use to Stéenböck, who was soon obliged to surrender himself to captivity with his whole army¹⁶.

The territories of Holstein now remained at the mercy of the incensed conquerors. The young duke became the object of Danish vengeance, and was doomed to pay for the abuse which Goertz had made of his name. Finding his original project thus rendered abortive, the baron formed a scheme for establishing a neutrality in the Swedish provinces in Germany. With this view, he privately entered into negotiations with the several princes who had set up claims to any part of the territories of Charles XII. all which, the kingdom of Sweden excepted, were ready to become the property of those who wanted to share them. Night and day he continued passing from one province to another. He engaged the governor of Bremen and Verden to put those two duchies into the hands of the elector of Hanover, by way of sequestration, in order to prevent the Danes from taking possession of them for themselves; and he prevailed upon the king of Prussia to accept, in conjunction with the duke of Holstein, the sequestration of Stetin, which was in danger of falling a prey to the Russians.

In the mean time the czar was pushing his conquests in Finland. Having made a descent at Helsingfors, the most southern part of that cold and barren region, he ordered a feigned attack to be made on one side of the harbour, while he landed his troops on the other, and took possession of the town. He afterwards made himself master of Abo, Borgo, and the whole coast; defeated the Swedes near Tavasthus; penetrated as far as Vasa, and reduced every fortress in the country. Nor were the conquests of Peter confined to the land. He gained a complete victory over the Swedes by sea, and subdued the isle of Oeland. A. D. 1714.

These successes, more especially his naval victory, furnished the czar with a new occasion of triumph. He entered Petersburg, as he formerly had Moscow, in procession, under a magnificent arch, decorated with the *insignia* of his conquests. After that pompous ceremony, which filled every heart with joy, and inspired every mind with emulation, Peter delivered a speech worthy of the founder of a great empire. "Countrymen and friends," said he, "is there any one among you who could have thought, twenty years ago, that he should fight under me upon the Baltic, in ships built by ourselves? or that we should form settlements in the countries now conquered by your valour and perseverance?—Greece is said to have been the birth-place of the arts and sciences. They afterward took up their abode in Italy; whence they have spread themselves, at different times, over every part of Europe. It is at last our turn to call them ours, if you will second my designs, by joining study to obedience. The arts and sciences circulate through this globe, like the blood in the human body; and perhaps they may establish their empire among us, in their return to Greece, their native country. I may even venture to flatter myself that we shall one day put to the blush the most civilised nations, by our polished manners and illustrious labours."

During these important transactions, so fatal to the power and the glory of Sweden, Charles continued to keep his bed at Demotica. Meanwhile, his ministers who acted as regents, driven to despair by the exigencies of the state, the miseries of the nation, and the absence of their sovereign, who seemed to have utterly abandoned his dominions, had come to a resolution no more to consult him in regard to their proceedings. And the senate went in a body to the princess Ulrica Eleonora, the king's sister, and entreated her to take the government into her own hands, until the return of her brother. She agreed to the proposal; but finding that their purpose was to force her to make peace with Russia and Denmark, a measure to which she knew her brother would never consent, on disadvantageous terms, she resigned the regency, and wrote to the king a circumstantial account of the whole affair.

Roused from his affected sickness, by what he considered as a treasonable attempt upon his authority, and now despairing of being able to make the Porte take arms in his favour, Charles signified to the vizir his desire of returning, through Germany, to his own dominions. The Turkish minister neglected nothing which might facilitate that event. In the mean time the king, whose principles were perfectly despotic, wrote to the senate, that if they pretended to assume the reins of government, he would send them one of his boots, from which they should receive their orders!—and, when the preparations for his departure were completed, he set out with a convoy consisting of sixty loaded waggons, and three hundred horse.

On his approach to the frontiers of Germany, he had the satisfaction to learn, that orders had been given for his being received, in every part of the Imperial dominions, with the respect due to his rank. But he had no inclination to bear the fatigue of so much pomp and ceremony. He therefore took leave of his Turkish convoy, as soon as he arrived at Targowitz, on the confines of

Transylvania; and assembling his attendants, desired them to give themselves no farther concern about him, but to proceed with all expedition to Stralsund. In disguise, and in company with only two officers, he reached that town after a fatiguing journey; and, without considering the wretched state of his affairs, he immediately dispatched orders to his generals, to renew the war against all his enemies with fresh vigour¹⁷. Nov. 21.

The approach of winter, however, delayed the military operations till the spring. Meanwhile the king was employed in recruiting his armies: and, in order to strengthen his interest, he gave his only surviving sister (Ulrica Eleonora) in marriage to Frederic prince of Hesse-Cassel, who had distinguished himself in the Imperial service in the Low-Countries, and was esteemed a good general. But Charles, on the opening of the campaign, was surrounded by such a multitude of enemies, that valour or conduct, without a greater force, could be of little service. The German troops of the king of Great-Britain, with those of Denmark, invested the strong town of Wismar, while the combined army of Prussians, Danes, and Saxons, formed the siege of Stralsund. The czar was at the same time in the Baltic (with twenty ships of war, and a hundred and fifty transports, carrying thirty thousand men), threatening a descent upon Sweden. A. D. 1715.

Stralsund, the strongest place in Pomerania, is situated between the Baltic Sea and the lake of Franken, near the strait of Gella. It is inaccessible by land, except by a narrow causeway, guarded by a citadel, and by other fortifications which were thought impregnable. It was defended by about ten thousand men, and besieged by three times the number of the garrison. The allies were animated by a love of glory and of conquest; the Swedes by

17 *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. vii. "These particulars," says Voltaire, "which are so consistent with the character of Charles XII., were first communicated to me by M. Fabricius, and afterward confirmed to me by the count de Croissy, ambassador from the regent of France to the king of Sweden."

despair, and the presence of their warlike king. Unfortunately, however, for the latter, it was discovered that the sea, which, on one side, secured the Swedish entrenchments, was at times fordable.

In consequence of this discovery, the Swedes were unexpectedly attacked at night. While one body of the besiegers advanced upon the causeway that led to the citadel, another entered the ebbing tide, and penetrated by the shore into the Swedish camp, before their approach was even suspected. The Swedes thus surprised, and fiercely assailed, were incapable of resistance. After a terrible slaughter, they were obliged to abandon their entrenchments; to evacuate the citadel, and take refuge in the town, against which their own cannon were now pointed by the enemy, who henceforth pushed the siege with unremitting vigour¹⁸.

To deprive Charles with his little army of all succours, and of even the possibility of escape, the allies had begun their operations with chasing the Swedish fleet from the coast of Pomerania, and taking possession of the isle of Usedom, which made a gallant defence. They now resolved to make themselves masters of the isle of Rugen, which served as a bulwark to Stralsund. Though sensible of the importance of Rugen, and of the designs of the enemy, the king was not able to place in it a sufficient garrison. Twelve thousand men, under the prince of Anhalt, were landed in that island, without any loss. Charles hastened to its relief, with two thousand select combatants, and advanced at midnight against the invaders. But he did not find them unprepared. The prince of Anhalt, aware what incredible things the unfortunate monarch was capable of attempting, had ordered a deep fosse to be sunk as soon as he landed, and fortified it with *chevaux-de-frise*. The king, though surprised at the discovery of the ditch, was not disconcerted. He

• 18 *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. viii.—*Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

instantly leaped into it, accompanied by the boldest of his men, and attempted to force the enemy's camp. The impetuosity of the assault threw the Danes and Prussians at first into some confusion. But the contest was unequal: the Swedes were repulsed, and obliged to repass the fosse. The prince of Anhalt pursued them into the plain. There the battle was renewed with great fury, and the victory was obstinately disputed; until Charles had seen his friend Grothusen and general Dardoff fall dead at his feet, and the greater part of his brave troops cut to pieces. He himself was wounded; and being put on horseback by Poniatowski, who had saved his life at Pultowa, and shared his misfortunes in Turkey, he was obliged to retire, and abandon Rugen to its fate¹⁹.

Stralsund was now reduced to extremities. The besiegers had reached the counterscarp, and were throwing a gallery over the principal ditch. The bombs fell as thick as hail upon the houses, and half the town was reduced to ashes. Charles, however, still preserved his firmness of mind. One day, as he was dictating some letters, a bomb bursting in the neighbourhood of his apartment, his secretary dropped his pen. "What is the matter?" said the king, with a degree of chagrin, as if ashamed that any one belonging to him should be capable of fear. "The bomb!" sighed the intimidated scribe, unable to utter another word. "Write on!" cried Charles, with an air of indifference; "what relation has the bomb to the letter that I am dictating?" But he was soon obliged to admit less heroic ideas. After two fierce attacks, during which he fought among his grenadiers like a private man, the besiegers made themselves masters of the horn-work. The grand assault was every moment expected, and the king resolved to sustain it; but the danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, and of being a second time made prisoner from his obstinacy, induced him to listen to the entreaties of his friends,

¹⁹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. viii.—*Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

and quit a place which he was no longer able to defend. He accordingly embarked in a small vessel, that was fortunately in the harbour; and, by favour of the night, passing safely through the Danish fleet, reached one of his own ships, which landed him in Sweden. General
 Dec. 27. Ducker, governor of Stralsund, soon after surrendered the place³⁰.

Unwilling to visit his capital in his present unfortunate circumstances, Charles passed the winter at Carlscoon; whence he had set out, in a very different condition, fifteen years before, animated with all the high hopes of a youthful hero, ready to give law to the North, if not to overawe the world. Those hopes ought now to have been moderated; but he had not yet learned to profit by adversity; and, unhappily for his subjects, he found, in his distress, a minister who encouraged his most extravagant projects, and even suggested new schemes of ambition. This was the baron de Goertz, who, from a congeniality of ideas, became the particular favourite of the king of Sweden; after his return to his dominions. To such a king and such a minister, nothing seemed impossible. When all Europe expected that Sweden would be invaded, and even over-run by her numerous enemies,
 March, Charles passed over into Norway, and defeated the
 1716. Danes in several conflicts; but the want of provisions, and other inconveniences and obstacles, obliged him to return to Sweden.

Meanwhile Wismar, the only town that remained to Charles on the frontiers of Germany, had surrendered to the Danes and Prussians; who, jealous of the Russians, would not even allow them to be present at the siege. Of this jealousy, which alienated the czar's mind from the cause of the confederates, and perhaps prevented the ruin of Sweden, Goertz took advantage. He ventured to advise his master to purchase a peace from Russia at any price; intimating, that the forces of Charles and

Peter, when united, would be able to strike terror into all Europe. Nor did he conceal the sacrifices necessary to be made, in order to procure such an union. He declared that there would be a necessity of ceding to the czar some of those Swedish provinces of which he was already the possessor; and he entreated the king to consider, that, by relinquishing territories which he was in no condition to recover, he might lay the foundation of his future greatness. Pleased with this mighty project, without building upon it, Charles furnished his minister with full power to treat with the czar, or any other prince with whom he should think proper to negotiate²¹.

Goertz accordingly, by himself or his agents, secretly entered into negotiations, which he conducted at the same time with the heads of the English Jacobites, and with the courts of Petersburg and Madrid. Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a man of the most boundless ambition, and in genius not inferior to the northern statesman, had resolved to place the pretender on the throne of Great-Britain; and the duke of Ormond, whose zeal knew no bounds, projected a marriage between that prince and Anna Petrowna, daughter of the czar. In con-
A. D. 1717.
sequence of these intrigues, count Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador at the court of London, was taken into custody, and Goertz in Holland. They were set at liberty, however, after an imprisonment of six months; and Goertz renewed his negotiations with the court of Russia. Peter proceeded cautiously; but conferences were, at last, appointed to be holden in the isle of Aland. And every thing seemed to promise the conclusion of a treaty, which would probably have changed the face of affairs in Europe, when an unexpected event, fortunately for the repose of mankind, rendered abortive all the labours of the baron de Goertz.

This was the death of the king of Sweden. Having

²¹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. viii.—*Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

undertaken a second expedition into Norway, A. D. 1718. instead of attempting to recover any of his fertile German provinces, he invested Frederickshall in December, when the ground was as hard as iron, and the cold so intense, that the soldiers on duty frequently dropped down dead. In order to animate them, he exposed himself to all the rigour of the climate, as well as to the dangers of the siege; sleeping even in the open air, covered only with his cloak! One night, as he was viewing the progress of the works by star-light, he was killed by a half-pound ball, from a cannon loaded

Dec. 11. with grape-shot. Though he expired, without a groan, the moment he received the blow, he had instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword, and was found with his hand in that position, so truly characteristic of his mind²².

No prince perhaps ever had fewer weaknesses, or possessed so many eminent, with so few amiable qualities, as Charles XII. of Sweden. Rigidly just, but void of lenity; romantically brave, but blind to consequences; profusely generous, without knowing how to oblige; temperate, without delicacy; and chaste, without acquiring the praise of continence, because he seems to have been insensible to female charms; a stranger to the pleasures of society, and but slightly acquainted with books; a Goth in his manners, and a savage in his resentments; resolute even to obstinacy, inexorable in vengeance, and inaccessible to sympathy, he has little to conciliate our love or esteem. But his wonderful intrepidity and perseverance in enterprise, his firmness under misfortune, his contempt of danger, and his enthusiastic passion for glory, will ever command our admiration.

The death of Charles was considered as a signal for a general cessation of arms. The prince of Hesse, who commanded under the king, immediately raised the siege

of Frederickshall, and led back the Swedes to their own country. Nor did the Danes attempt to molest them on their march²³.

The first act of the senate of Sweden, after being informed of the fate of their sovereign, was to order the baron de Goertz to be arrested; and a new crime was invented for his destruction. He was accused of having "*slanderosly* misrepresented the nation to the king!" He had at least encouraged the king in his ambitious projects, which had brought the nation to the verge of ruin. He had invented a number of oppressive taxes, in order to support those projects; and, when every other resource failed, he had advised his master to give to copper money the value of silver! an expedient productive of greater misery than all the former. In resentment of these injuries, Goertz, though found guilty of no legal crime, was condemned to lose his head, and executed at the foot of the common gallows²⁴.

The Swedes having thus gratified their vengeance, at the expence of the reputation of a king whose memory they still adore, proceeded to the regulation of their government. By a free and voluntary choice, A. D. 1719. the states of the kingdom elected Ulrica Eleonora for their queen. But they obliged her to renounce, by a solemn act, all hereditary right to the crown, that she might hold it entirely by the suffrages of the people; while she bound herself by oath never to attempt the re-establishment of arbitrary power. And sacrificing, soon after, the love of royalty to conjugal affection, she relinquished the crown to her husband the prince of Hesse, who was chosen by the states, and mounted the throne on the same conditions with his royal consort.

²³ *Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.—This appearance of harmony has led to a general belief, that the king of Sweden fell a sacrifice to the sufferings of his own subjects, and the fears of his enemies. He is said to have been shot with a blunderbuss, by one of the officers of his army. But no proof of such treason has ever been produced; nor have any circumstances been offered that can entitle the report to historical credibility.

²⁴ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. viii.

The new government was no sooner established than the Swedes turned their views toward peace. It was accordingly brought about by different treaties. One

Nov. was adjusted with the king of Great-Britain as elector of Hanover, to whom the queen of Sweden agreed to cede the duchies of Bremen and Verden, in considera-

A.D. 1720. tion of a million of rix-dollars; another with the king of Prussia, who restored Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and kept Stetin, with the isles of Usedom and Wollin; and a third with the king of Denmark, who retained part of the duchy of Sleswick, conquered from the duke of Holstein, and gave up Wismar, on condition that the fortifications should not be rebuilt²⁵. The war

A.D. 1721. with Russia still continued; but an English squadron being sent to the assistance of Sweden, the czar thought proper to recall his fleet, after committing the most terrible depredations on the coasts of that kingdom. New negotiations were opened at Nystadt; where a treaty of peace was, at last, concluded between the hostile crowns, by which the czar was left in possession of the provinces of Livonia and Ingria, with some parts of Finland²⁶.

Peter henceforth took the title of emperor, which was soon formally acknowledged by all the European powers. He had now reached the highest point of human greatness; but he was yet to receive an increase of glory. Persia being at that time, as almost ever since, distracted by civil

A.D. 1722. wars, he marched to the assistance of prince Thamas, the lawful heir of the crown, whose father Hossein had been dethroned and imprisoned by an

A.D. 1723. Afghan usurper. In return for his exertions, as well as to procure his future support, he was put in possession of the provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad, bordering on the Caspian Sea.

But although this extraordinary man deserves much

25 *Contin. Pufend. lib. vii.*

26 *Voltaire's Hist. of the Russian Emp. vol. ii.*

praise as a warrior, and was highly successful as a conqueror, extending his dominions from the southernmost limits of the Caspian, to the extremity of the Baltic Sea; though great in a military, he was still greater in a civil capacity. As he had visited England and Holland, in the early part of his reign, to acquire a knowledge of the useful arts, he made a journey into France, in 1717, in order to become acquainted with those which are more immediately connected with elegance. A number of ingenious artists, in every branch, allured by the prospect of advantage, followed him from France, to settle in Russia. And, on his return to Petersburg, he established a board of trade, composed partly of natives and partly of foreigners, that justice might be impartially administered to all. One Frenchman commenced a manufactory of plate-glass for mirrors; another set up a loom, for working rich tapestry, after the manner of the Gobelins; and a third succeeded in the making of gold and silver lace: linen cloth was made at Moscow, equal in fineness to that of the Low-Countries; and the silken articles manufactured at Petersburg began to rival those of Ispahan²⁷.

Nor was the attention of Peter, in a civil line, confined merely to arts and manufactures. He extended his views to all the departments of government, and to every species of improvement. A lieutenant-general of police, destined to preserve order from one end of the empire to the other, was now appointed. An uniformity was established with regard to weights and measures; and other useful regulations were ordained by the vigilant czar. The education of youth drew a great share of his attention; and his wise policy new-modeled the courts of law, while it corrected the abuses in religion. The great canal, which joins the Caspian Sea to the Baltic, by means of the Wolga, was finished under his care; and engineers and men of science were sent to make the tour of the Russian empire, in order

27 Voltaire, vol. ii.

to furnish exact accounts and delineations of it, that mankind might be fully acquainted with its extent and importance.

But Peter, after all his noble institutions, and his liberal attempts to civilise his people, was himself no better than an enlightened barbarian. Inventive, bold, active, and indefatigable, he was formed for succeeding in the most difficult undertakings, and for conceiving the most magnificent designs; but unfeeling, impatient, furious under the influence of passion, and a slave to his own arbitrary will, he was shamefully prodigal of the lives of his subjects, and never endeavoured to combine their ease and happiness with his glory and personal greatness. He seemed to think that they were formed solely for his, not he for their, aggrandisement. His savage ferocity turned itself even against his own blood. Alexis (his only son by his first wife) having led an abandoned course of life, and discovered an inclination to obstruct his favourite plan of civilisation, he compelled him to sign, in 1718, a solemn renunciation of his right to the crown, and afterward assembled an extraordinary court, consisting of the principal Russian nobility and clergy, who condemned that unhappy, though seemingly weak and dissolute prince, to suffer death,—but without prescribing the manner in which it should be inflicted²⁸. The event, however, took place, and suddenly.

Alexis was seized with strong convulsions, and expired soon after the dreadful sentence was announced to him; but whether in consequence of the agony occasioned by such alarming intelligence, or by other means, is uncertain²⁹. We only know, that Peter then had, by his beloved Catharine, an infant son, who bore his own name, and whom he intended for his successor; and as the birth of this son had probably accelerated the prosecution, and increased

²⁸ Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

²⁹ Voltaire has taken great pains to clear up this point; yet, after all, he has left it doubtful. *Hist. Russ.* part ii. chap. x.

the severity of the proceedings against Alexis, whom his father had before threatened to disinherit, it is not impossible or improbable that the friends of Catharine might hasten the death of the same prince, in order to save the court from the odium of his public execution, and the emperor from the excruciating reflections that must have followed such an awful transaction.

A gentleman, who was present on the occasion, strongly insinuates that Alexis was taken off by a dose of poison, administered by order of his father³⁰. And a respectable writer³¹ affirms, that the czar, with his own hand, cut off the head of his son. But probability, as well as the general character of Peter, forbid us to credit such narratives. After having taken the trouble of bringing to a public trial his disobedient son, whose private murder he could at a single nod have procured; after endeavouring to vindicate his conduct to the world, in an elaborate declaration; the czar was too wise to hazard the infamy of being reputed an assassin. And had punishment, whether public or private, been inflicted on the czarowitz, by authority, it would have been avowed. The great, the imperious, the inexorable Peter would have scorned to hide the rigour of his justice beneath the veil of an incidental distemper, or to fulfil the sentence of the law by a preparation of poison under the name of medicine. He surely meant to put a period to the life of Alexis; but he was too magnanimous to execute, as a cowardly murderer, what he could command as a sovereign and a judge. The life of that prince having been declared to be forfeited, the emperor had only to let fall the suspended blow. He had no new reproach to fear; all Europe being already acquainted with his purpose, and remaining in awful expectation of the event.

The principal crime of which the ill-fated Alexis was convicted (for he was questioned even as to his private

³⁰ See the *Memoirs* of Peter Henry Bruce, Esq. published in 1732.

³¹ Lamberti.

thoughts) was that of having *wished* for the death of his father!—If the eldest sons of kings were ALL to be judged by this criterion, few palaces would be free from blood. Another atrocious crime was, his having absconded and taken shelter in the imperial dominions; “raising against us,” says Peter, “his father and his lord, numberless calumnies and false reports, as if we did persecute him, so as even to endanger his life, if he continued with us³².” That the fears of the czarowitz were well founded, sufficiently appeared, when, drawn from this asylum on a promise of pardon, he was first compelled to relinquish his right to the succession, and afterward condemned to death.

It cannot be improper here to observe, that although Peter had long been dissatisfied with the conduct of Alexis, he never threatened to disinherit him, until he had a near prospect of issue by Catharine; and, as his first letter to the czarowitz containing such threat, is only dated a few days before she was delivered of a son, it seems very questionable, whether it was written before or after that event. Then, indeed, he spoke out. “I am determined at last,” says he, “to signify to you my final purpose; willing, however, to defer the execution of it for a time, to see if you will reform. If not, know that I am resolved to deprive you of the succession, as I would lop off an useless branch.”—“We cannot in conscience,” adds Peter in his Declaration, “leave him after us the succession to the throne of Russia; foreseeing that, by his vicious courses, he would entirely destroy the glory of our nation, and the safety of our dominions, which, through God’s providence, we have acquired and established by incessant application, causing our people to be instructed in all sorts of civil and military sciences.” This, if impartially true, might be a sufficient reason for depriving a son of the inheritance of empire, but not surely for putting him to death. That measure could only be dictated by a ty-

rannical and jealous policy, in order to prevent his disturbing the government under the legal successor.

The death of the carowitz, whatever might be its cause, was soon followed by that of young Peter; whom the emperor, on the renunciation of Alexis, had ordered his subjects, of all ranks and conditions, to acknowledge as lawful heir to the crown, "by oath before the holy altar, upon the holy Gospels, kissing the cross!" Catharine continued nevertheless to maintain her influence over the violent spirit of her husband. Her ascendancy was indeed extraordinary. One day, in the height of his passion, and in order to display the extent of his power, Peter broke a magnificent mirror. "See," said he, "how with one stroke of my hand I can, in a moment, reduce that glass to its original dust!"—"True," replied Catharine; coolly, "you have destroyed the finest ornament of your palace; but will the absence of that ornament improve the beauty of the imperial mansion?" The czar's choler instantly subsided. The very sound of her voice was sufficient to calm his rage, when no other person dared to approach him.

As a prelude to the eventual succession of the czarina, Peter himself, after his return from his Persian expedition, assisted at her solemn coronation. A. D. 1724.

That ceremony, the meaning of which was well understood, added great weight to the already respectable character of Catharine; so that, on the death of the emperor, she quietly succeeded to the throne, and Feb. 8,
1725. her government was such as might have been expected from the widow of Peter the Great³³.

The following lines, which are commonly quoted as part of the czar's epitaph, form a panegyric not unworthy of him:

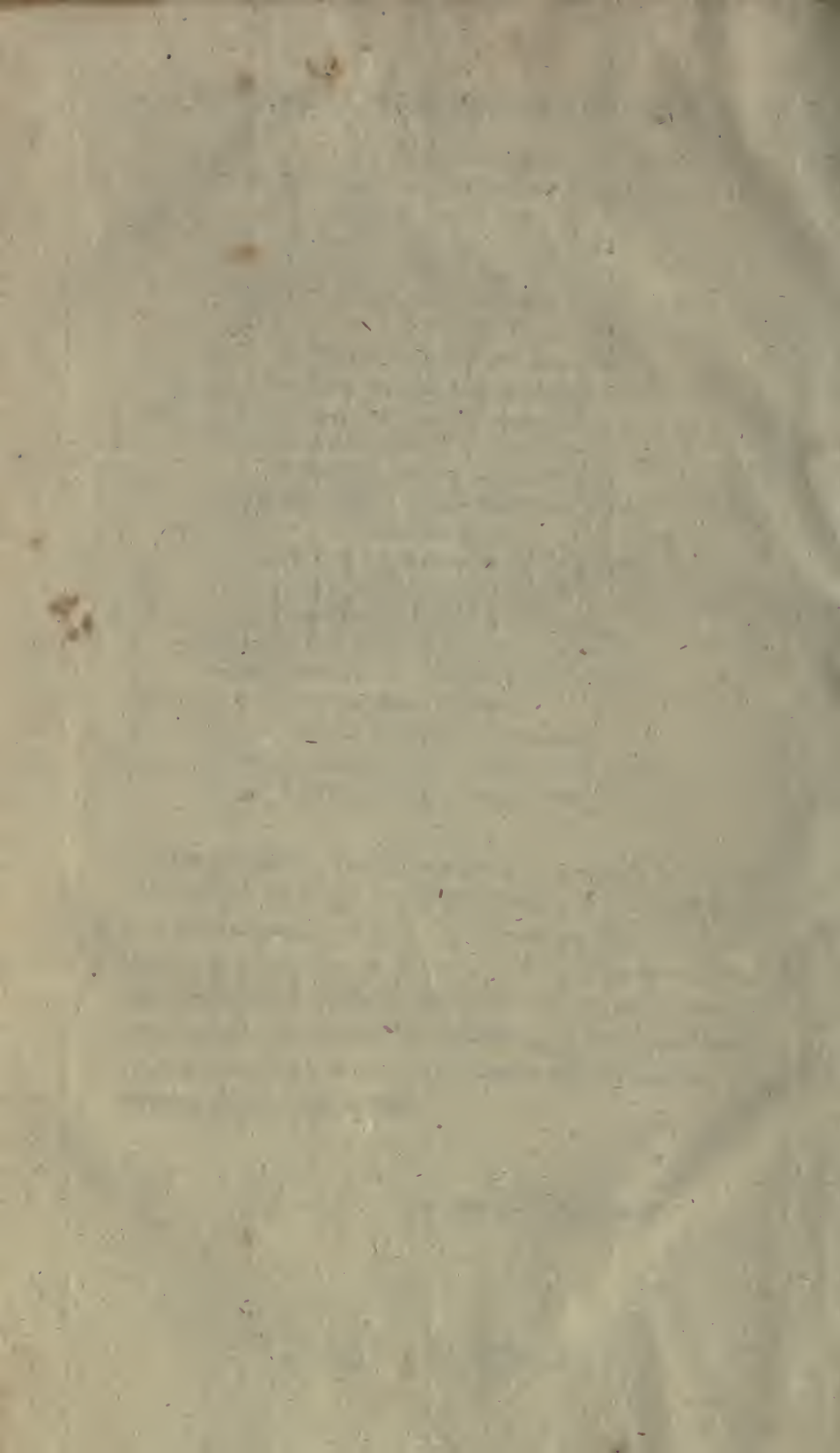
³³ I am sensible that a less favourable account of the latter years of Catharine has been given by some late travellers; but the tongue of scandal is busy in every country, and travellers are generally most industrious in collecting defamatory anecdotes.

" Let Antiquity be dumb,
 " Nor boast her ALEXANDER or her CÆSAR.
 " How easy was Victory
 " To Leaders who were followed by Heroes ;
 " And whose Soldiers felt a noble Disdain
 " At being thought less vigilant than their Generals !
 " But HE,
 " Who *in this Place first knew Rest*,
 " Found Subjects base and inactive,
 " Unwarlike, unlearned, intractable,
 " Neither covetous of Fame nor fearless of Danger ;
 " Creatures under the Name of Men,
 " But with Qualities rather brutal than rational !
 " Yet even These
 " He polished from their native Ruggedness ;
 " And breaking out, like a new Sun,
 " To illuminate the Minds of a People,
 " Dispelled their Night of Hereditary Darkness ;
 " And, by the Force of his invincible Influence,
 " Taught them to conquer
 " Even the *Conquerors of Germany*.
 " Other Princes have commanded victorious Armies ;
 " PETER THE GREAT created them."

This panegyric would have been as just as it is elegant, had not Peter left the body of his people, as he found them, in a state of abject servitude to the nobles, who were themselves every moment at the mercy of the capricious will of the sovereign. These evils, which still in some measure remain, must be effectually eradicated, before the Russian empire can attain a very high degree of population, culture, or general civilisation.

THE END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.









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